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## Editorial

This second issue of volume 8 opens with three papers presented at the 12th MOISA conference held at Thessaloniki in July 2019 and organised by the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, in association with the Teloglion Foundation of Arts (thanks especially to the commitment of Alexandra Goulaki-Voutyra, Athena Katsanevaki and Antonia Roumpi). The three contributions (by Stelios Psaroudakēs, Angela Cinalli and Anna Conser) investigate, from various but equally interesting perspectives, the many possible ways of transforming historical musical data—including archeological, epigraphic and literary evidence—into possible realities of a different present.

*GRMS* 8.2 continues with two articles that complete the inquiry, started in 8.1, into a Classical Athenian grave from the area between the ‘Ēriai’ Gate and the Dipylon containing two musical instruments, a lyre and an *aulos*: the first paper (by Antonia Kokkoliou) describes the archaeological context of this important finding, while the second (by Anastasia-Sofia Protopapa and Theodoros Pitsios) focuses on the dental and skeletal age-estimation of the body recovered in the grave. The following contribution, by James Lloyd, deals with methodological issues in the scholarly field of music archeology, proposing a new framework for the study of ancient musical objects. Finally, Sofia Di Mambro focuses on a Byzantine text preserving the legacy of ancient Greek music theory, the *Synopsis of Music* formerly attributed to Psellus, within which some topics are reinterpreted from a Christian perspective.

This issue was completed during the terrible pandemic that hit the whole world: I wish to thank all the authors, my colleagues of the Editorial Board (especially our Reviews and Copy Editor Maggi Creese) and the staff of our publishers, Brill (in particular the Production Editor Michael Mozina), for helping me to complete the task in such a dark and difficult period.

*Eleonora Rocconi*



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# How the Present Can Inform the Past, Part I

## Ancient and Modern Analogues as Supplementary Evidence in Reconstructing an Ancient Instrument

### *Case in Point: the Protocycladic II Harp*

*Stelios Psaroudakēs*

National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Athens, Greece

*spsaroud@music.uoa.gr*

#### Abstract

The present paper seeks to illustrate ways of making use of ancient and modern analogues in the process of reconstructing an ancient instrument. In particular, I argue that the elliptic organological information provided by the Protocycladic II statuettes of harpists can to a large extent be supplemented by a comparison with extant Pharaonic harps, and the *saùng-gauk* of Myanmar. The latter can, furthermore, throw light upon the playing technique of the obsolete Protocycladic harp.

#### Keywords

Protocycladic II harp – ancient Egyptian harp – *saùng-gauk*

#### 1 Introduction

As the main title reveals, the focus of this paper will be on the ways in which the present can be an aid to our understanding of the musical past, and not on the ways in which what we think we know of the musical past can be exploited in the music making of today. In other words, our concern here will be in accordance with the theory and method of the archaeomusicologist, operating strictly within the framework of the discipline, which seeks to approach the greatest possible understanding of how the ancients thought about music, how they composed it, how they played it, how they constructed

their instruments, how they used them, and so on. This is the framework in which ethnomusicologists operate, in an effort to enter the world of another musical tradition, most of the time of a civilization alien to them, and speak with the mind and voice of the people whose music they attempt to describe. Thus, socio-anthropological issues and methods are involved in the process of description of musical repertoires and styles. In any case, this is the method of every historian, be it an archaeologist, a classical philologist, or a student of the past in general, remote or recent.

Taking into account the fact that there are severe gaps in the corpus of our evidence about the practice of ancient musics, we need to develop a methodology that will help us minimize this lack of material without making the mistake of slipping outside the boundaries of our discipline. Therefore I will present and discuss ways in which aspects of contemporary music—any music which can furnish us with analogues—can throw light upon our target, which, in this case, is the music of the ancient Hellenes and their predecessors. In other words, we are in search of enlightening analogues, ancient and modern.

## 2 The Protocycladic Harp: How the Present Can Inform the Past

There exist nine marble statuettes of the 'Cycladic harpist' (Figures 1, 2). They date from the 3rd millennium BC, and are products of the Protocycladic II civilization (2700-2400/2300 BC).<sup>1</sup> They all portray a male harpist seated on a stool or a throne-like chair, in the nude, and with the head thrown back (an upward gaze?).<sup>2</sup> Various theories have been put forth about the identity of this male figure, ranging from musician to bard to priest to divinity to experienced sea fearer, who sings stories from lands of far away (Broodbank 2009, 407).

1 A tenth statuette, of unknown provenance, acquired in 1947 by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Rodgers Fund no. 47.100.1), has proved to be a fake (Lawergren 2000), and is therefore not included in our evidence. For a colour photograph of it see Schaik 1998, 65, fig. 1.

2 An eleventh statuette, in a private collection in the United States, is too fragmentary to provide any useful evidence beyond the fact that the sound box of the instrument lies, again, along the right thigh of the musician. See Getz-Gentle 2001, pl. 26 e1-e3, with note on p. 174 (here, Figure 4). The present writer became aware of the existence of a twelfth statuette, in the National Archaeological Museum, Athens (No BE 7.1/2011, dated 2700-2400/300 BC), as this paper was going to press. It furnishes no new information; Cycladic Museum Exhibition Catalogue at [https://issuu.com/museumofcycladicart/docs/condoatmca-cat\\_fin-web?fr=sMTNIZDEwODQwNzE](https://issuu.com/museumofcycladicart/docs/condoatmca-cat_fin-web?fr=sMTNIZDEwODQwNzE), p. 14, Fig. 5 (25.04.20), and video at [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f\\_66hPMuACK](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f_66hPMuACK) (28.03.2020), 1:17-20, 1:44-50.

In other words, we simply do not know who this ‘Harpist’ was, and what was his social status.<sup>3</sup>

Can we, however, be luckier with the musical instrument in his hands? Can we gather enough information which will lead us to its ‘valid’ reconstruction in the workshop, that is, a proposition based on convincing argument? In what follows, an attempt will be made to provide a positive answer to the question.



FIGURE 1 The nine extant Protocycladic figurines of ‘The Harpist’. Side view:  
 1. Thera I. Karlsruhe-Badisches Landesmuseum B 863 (Schaik 1998b, 66 no. 2);  
 2. Thera II. Karlsruhe-Badisches Landesmuseum B 864 (Schaik 1998b, 66 no. 3);  
 3-4. Amorgos I-II. New York-Metropolitan Museum of Fine Art SL 1990.1.11a (Getz-Preziosi 1994, 37 fig. 25); 5. Naxos. Athens-National Archaeological Museum 8833 (Schaik 1998b, 73 no. 10); 6. Keros. Athens-National Archaeological Museum 3908 (Schaik 1998b, cover); 7. Amorgos III. Malibu, California-The J. Paul Getty Museum 85.AA.103 (Getz-Preziosi 1994, cover); 8. Unknown provenance. New York-The Metropolitan Museum of Fine Art L 1982.27.13 (Schaik 1998b, 71, no. 8); 9. Unknown provenance. Richmond, Virginia-Virginia Museum of Fine Arts 65-42.  
 SOURCE: SCHAIK 1998B, 72 NO. 9

3 For a general account of the Protocycladic civilisation, see: Renfrew 1992; Barber 1987; Broodbank 2002, 2009; Τράντα-Νικóλη 2006. For references to Protocycladic music, see Aign 1963, 29-34, 113-24, 301-3; Michaelides 1978; Paquette 1984, 63f., 189f.; Höckmann 1982; McKinnon 1984; Maas & McIntosh Snyder 1989, 1-2, 15 fig. 1; Anderson 1994, 3-5; Lawergren 1996; 2001; Schaik 1997; 1998a; 1998b; 2000; Younger 1998, 10-14, 71-4, 81f.; Andrikou et al. 2003, 104-7; Τράντα-Νικóλη 2006, 71. For a concise bibliography of ancient harps, in general, see Schaik 2017.



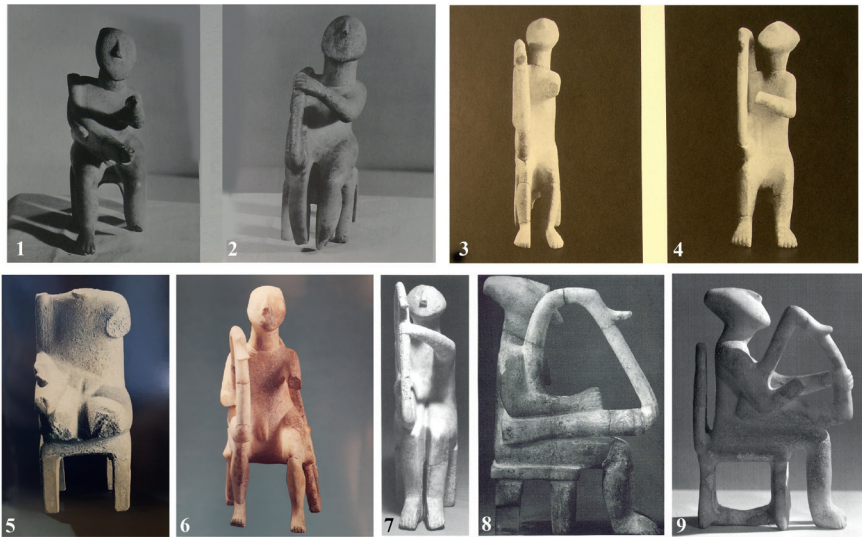


FIGURE 2 The nine extant Protocycladic figurines of 'The Harpist'. Frontal view:  
 1. Thera I. Karlsruhe-Badisches Landesmuseum B 863 (Getz-Preziosi 1987 pl. 9.1 upper); 2. Thera II. Karlsruhe-Badisches Landesmuseum B 864 (Getz-Preziosi 1987 pl. 9.2 upper); 3-4. Amorgos I-II. New York-Metropolitan Museum of Fine Art SL 1990.1.11a (Getz-Preziosi 1987, pl. 7.1-2 upper); 5. Naxos. Athens-National Archaeological Museum 8833 (Papathanasopoulos 1981, 204, pl. 122); 6. Keros. Athens-National Archaeological Museum 3908 (Papathanasopoulos 1981, 210, pl. 128); 7. Amorgos III. Malibu, California-The J. Paul Getty Museum 85.AA.103 (Getz-Preziosi 1994, 77 fig. 79); 8. Unknown provenance. New York-The Metropolitan Museum of Fine Art L 1982.27.13 (Schaik 1998b, 71 no. 8); 9. Unknown provenance. Richmond, Virginia-Virginia Museum of Fine Arts 65-42. SCHAİK 1998B, 72 NO. 9

It goes without saying that what we have here are simplified depictions of reality, or, perhaps, artistic/abstract interpretations of reality, or even inaccurate renditions of reality—and largely scaled down, too—certainly not photographic portrayals of reality. A comparison of the forms of the nine different depictions of the instrument reveals certain structural similarities, but also some dissimilarities between them: the main feature which they all have in common is their near triangular frame, with curved corners, comprising a horizontal quasi orthogonal parallelepiped sound box with two most probably solid arms<sup>4</sup> emerging from it, one upwards at the back, and another outwards at the front.

4 The arms of all surviving Pharaonic harps are solid (see below, with figs 7, 8, 9), and so are, as far as it is known to the present writer, those of modern harps worldwide.

The sound box is rendered with some variety: it is either a straight orthogonal parallelepiped (Figure 1.2, 3, 5, 8, 9), sometimes with a rising upper level at the back (Figure 1.1, 4), or, on one occasion (Figure 1.7), curved upwards. It either extends all the way back (Figure 1.1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8), or it stops short of the pelvic bone (Figure 1.6, 7, 9). The length of the box is either from the back of the musician to his knee (Figure 1.2, 3, 5), or beyond the knee (Figure 1.1, 8), or stops short of the knee (Figure 1.4), or from the pelvic bone to beyond the knee (Figure 1.6, 9), while in one case (Figure 1.7), not only does it start at the pelvic bone, but it also stops short of the knee.

The rear arm is variously portrayed as straight (Figure 1.2, 5, 9), or curved (Figure 1.4, 6, 7, 8), emerging from the box either at right angles (Figure 1.2, 5, 6, 8), or at an obtuse angle (Figure 1.1, 3, 4, 7), or at an acute angle (Figure 1.9). It may not be coincidental, and therefore insignificant, that in every case the arm does not spring out of the box at its extreme end, but a little further in (Figure 1.1, 2, 3, 7, 8). In the iconographic rendition of the 'Cycladic Harpist' which is seemingly 'best' in many respects, the Keros statuette (Figure 1.6), there is a pronounced gradual increase of the arm as it approaches the middle of the soundboard. Having reached its maximum height, the arm then bends forward along a curve set at an acute angle, and joins the top of the front arm.

The front arm always emerges from the sound box in parallel with its longitudinal axis, before, almost immediately after, bending back upon itself at an acute angle. It appears mostly straight (Figure 1.2, 3, 4, 6, 8), but also curved in two examples (Figure 1.7, 9). A 'tongue'-like appendix near the upper end of the arm present in all exemplars which have this part intact, has unanimously been interpreted as a water bird head. As the prevalent theory goes, it stands for the deity, who is being summoned to appear and receive worship, an idea extended to the Minoans and the Mycenaeans.<sup>5</sup>

Assuming a pelvis-to-knee distance of 50 cm, a horizontal portion of the front arm of 8 cm, and a pelvis to ear distance of 65 cm, the size of the Keros instrument can be approximated: it can be thought of as inscribed in an orthogonal parallelogram of 58×65 cm.

All harpists but one hold their instrument in more or less the same way: sound box resting along the right thigh; rear arm pushed against the right shoulder, its lower part tucked under the right elbow for support; right arm resting on the soundboard (Figure 2.2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8), or leaning against the outer wall of the sound box (Figure 2.1), or raised, with the hand operating in the area of the (imagined) strings (Figure 2.6, 9); left hand, when surviving, grasping the front arm somewhere in its middle. One could argue that the harpists are

5 See, e.g., Schaik 2002.



FIGURE 3 Thera I/Karlsruhe-Badisches Landesmuseum B 863  
 SOURCE: A. FROM SCHAİK 1998B, 66 NO. 2; B. C MARTIN DURRSCHNABEL, SEE  
[HTTPS://COMMONS.WIKIMEDIA.ORG/WIKI/FILE:HARFENSPIELER\\_IDOL2-RZ.JPG](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:HARFENSPIELER_IDOL2-RZ.JPG)  
[HTTPS://COMMONS.WIKIMEDIA.ORG/WIKI/FILE:HARFENSPIELER\\_IDOL2-RZ.JPG](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:HARFENSPIELER_IDOL2-RZ.JPG)

shown either not playing (Figure 2.1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8), or while tuning (Figure 2.6, 9)—since in these two cases the right hand is in the air, possibly plucking a string while the left hand is adjusting its tuning device<sup>6</sup>—or, hesitantly proposed, sacrificed to the mere job of securing the stability of the instrument: a harp being played only by one hand? A generally polychord instrument played by five fingers only? It would be logical to assume that it was easier for the sculptor to set the harp parallel to the right thigh, even if this was not the way the instrument was actually held, as this would facilitate his job, get it done relatively quickly. Indeed, this is the case with eight out of the nine statuettes.<sup>7</sup> Why then is there a ninth statuette (Figure 3)<sup>8</sup> in which the harp is set at an angle to the right thigh? The sculptor here has clearly opted for a different posture, showing the instrument turned to the left by a substantial angle. Is the

6 On the assumption that the front arm is the yoke of the harp, bearing the tuning devices.

7 Now ten, together with the ones referred to in n. 2, above.

8 The statuette shown in Figure 3 is that of Figures 1.1 and 2.1.

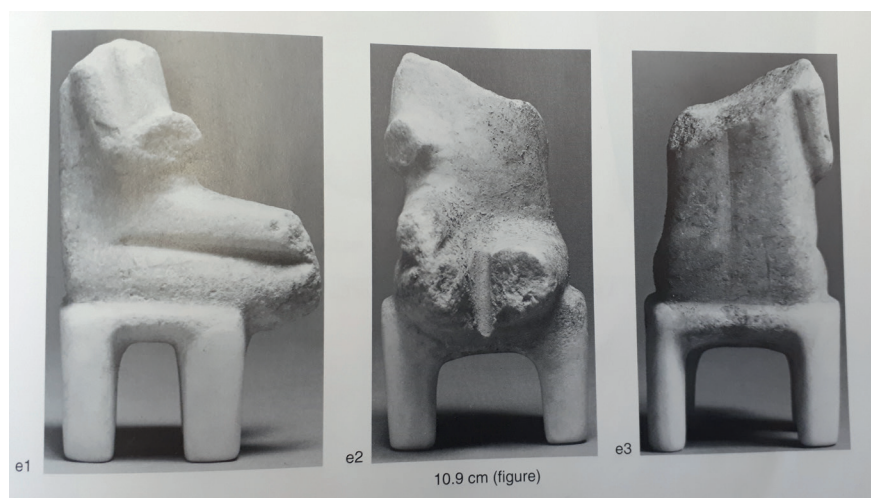


FIGURE 4 Unknown provenance/USA-Private Collection  
SOURCE: FROM GETZ-GENTLE 2001, PL. 26 E1-E3

sculptor trying to communicate something significant, which all other sculptors found it unnecessary to convey? Undoubtedly, it would have taken him longer to finish the statuette, and it would have taken greater carving skill to place the instrument at a skew line with regard to the body of the musician. Furthermore, if the sound-box-parallel-to-the-thigh setup were the actual way of holding the instrument, why depart from the sculptural norm, and place the harp at an angle to the thigh? Can we then take his version as being more realistic than all the others, despite the fact that it is only one out of nine?<sup>9</sup> It also makes sense that, since the human arms are equal in length, some inevitable inclination of the instrument to the left would have occurred, since the left arm of the musician has to be extended, in order to reach and get hold of the front arm.

In today's Far East, in Myanmar (formerly Burma), there exists an arched type of harp, called the *saùng-gauk* (Figure 5), which, although open on one side (the frame is not 'closed'), it can, I suggest, throw important light on the construction and playing technique of the Cycladic harp. The *saùng-gauk* is likewise held resting along the right thigh of the musician and at an angle to it, right hand plucking the strings, left hand holding onto the post, in a manner similar, but not identical, to that in the Cycladic harp (Figure 6). The instrument is held at an angle to the axis of the right thigh, very much in the way

9 Now eleven, together with the two statuettes referred to in n. 2. The gender of the sculptor is here assumed to be male, hence the use of the pronouns 'him' and 'his'.





FIGURE 5 Saung-gauk

SOURCE: FROM GUTTORMSEN, ET AL. 1995, 55



FIGURE 6 Saung-gauk played by U Myint Maung

SOURCE: FROM TAYLOR 1989, PL. 20

the harp is held in our unique Cycladic statuette (Thera I, Figures 1.1, 2.1).<sup>10</sup> However, the left hand in the saùng-gauk is not passively engaged in merely holding the instrument, but operates (χειρουργεῖ) on the strings with the use of the thumb,<sup>11</sup> whose straight cut nail stops the strings near the arm, thus creating small intervals and various embellishments. Some musicians use the second finger to pluck a top string (low sounds) occasionally.<sup>12</sup> Could we have here a revealing analogue of the left hand playing technique on the Cycladic harp? If we accept this interpretation, then: (a) the left hand is not sacrificed and debased to a mere supporting role, especially as harps are, as already noted, usually multi stringed instruments and are in need of fingers (the saùng-gauk can have from 13 to 16 strings), (b) the front arm of the Cycladic harp becomes, by analogy with the saùng-gauk, the yoke, bearing the tuning devices, and thus, the direction of the strings is established from the sound box to the front arm, and not to the rear arm: a possibility which cannot be discarded, since some later, Classical Hellenic types of harp, although of a different type, show their strings going towards the body of the harpist.<sup>13</sup> There is enough length, both along the sound box as well as along the yoke below the bird's head to stretch as many as 10 or more strings.<sup>14</sup>

A significant structural difference between the triangular closed-frame Cycladic harp and the arched type saùng-gauk is the angle of incidence of the yoke from the resonator: in the case of the former, the angle is acute, while in

10 It could be argued that in a second statuette (Figs 1.8, 2.8) the instrument is also shown displaced to the left. However, the shift is slight, and, this piece of evidence alone, would not constitute strong support for the present argument, namely that the Cycladic harp was held at an angle to the right thigh, with the fingers of the left hand operating on the strings at the yoke; see below.

11 For the ancient Hellenic words χειρουργία and χειρουργικός, used as musical terms in the playing of instruments, see Michaelides 1978 s.v.

12 On the saùng-gauk, see Baines 1992; Guttormsen et al. 1995, 54; Williamson 2001. For videos of performances on the instrument see <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uJMvUJAWHNQ>; <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GvhCPdX2H6w>. Baines mentions instruments with 13 to 16 strings, tuned over the range of about *c* to *f*. The tunings are mostly pentatonic; one of the main tunings begins *c e f g b*. Intermediate notes are produced by the left-hand thumb or thumbnail pressing close to the yoke. Interestingly, Baines informs that this pressing technique was formerly used on some harps in Europe. Williamson refers to an initially 13-string instrument, to which a 14th string was added by a court harpist (1855-1933), and another two in the 1960s, resulting in the contemporary 16-string instrument.

13 See, e.g., Herbig 1929 and Maas & McIntosh Snyder 1989, 147-55, with figs 16, 17.

14 One could further estimate the length of the yoke below the bird's head, the part along which the tuning devices were laid, and thus propose an approximate number of strings for, say, the Keros figurine instrument. Harpists 6 and 9, therefore, might actually have been intended to be shown playing.



the latter, it is obtuse. This means that the way the left hand would have held on to the yoke in the Cycladic harp might have been different from that in the *saùng-gauk*, in which two fingers, held straight, simply touch the yoke with their tips, acting as stabilizers of the hand, while in the Cycladic harp the non-operating fingers might have gripped the yoke, as is shown in the statuettes. Whether the operation of the left hand thumb nail, in the *saùng-gauk* fashion, can produce good quality notes on the rather shorter strings of the Cycladic type harp is a matter of further, experimental, investigation.

Good evidence on the construction of the parts of the Cycladic harp comes from ancient Egyptian analogues: the angle harp (Figure 7) and the arched harp (Figure 8).<sup>15</sup> In both types, dowels have been used to fix the strings on the yoke, securing the tuning devices in place, and preventing their slipping along the yoke. The tuning 'knots', made of a kind of chord, kept the strings taut and ended in tassels (Figure 7).<sup>16</sup> The hollowed out wooden sound boxes were covered completely in leather, the ends of which were sawed together at the 'kernel' of the box.<sup>17</sup> Inside the sound box, small wooden transverse beams were placed, in order to keep the sides of the sound box from collapsing inwards under the pressure of the taut skin.<sup>18</sup> The string holders were made in the form of slender wedges with equidistant holes in them for the strings to go through, and were placed under the skin, and in contact with it, in order for the vibrations of the strings to be transmitted to the leather soundboard. One end of the string holder was pointed and secured inside the sound box at the yoke end, while the other, wider end surfaced above the skin at the other extreme of the resonator, where it was fastened to it. The junction of the yoke to the sound box of the Egyptian angle harp (Figure 7) may serve as a model for the reconstruction of the junction of the rear arm with the sound box of the Cycladic harp, while that of the Egyptian arched harp (Figure 8) can provide

15 For a brief discussion of ancient Egyptian harps see Kappel 2016, with bibliography.

16 Compare the knotting and the tassels of the *saùng-gauk* at [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CAxjQDbSe\\_g](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CAxjQDbSe_g) 0-1:08.

17 Compare the hollowing out of the *saùng-gauk* soundbox at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2PnldfrvVqI> 7:10-end; <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OEMKHoyicbc> 0-0:30. For the stretching and fixing of the skin in the *saùng-gauk*, which, however, does not surround the resonator completely, see <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OEMKHoyicbc> 10:55ff.

18 See, for example, the small New Kingdom arched harp in the Metropolitan Museum of New York 43.2.1 (1390-1295 BC) at <https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/43.2.1>. Compare similar beams placed inside the resonator of the *saùng-gauk* at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OEMKHoyicbc> 8:19, 9:36.



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# The Past Sets the Context for the Present

## *Preserving the Legacy of Musical and Poetic Tradition in the Hellenistic Period*

Angela Cinalli

Marie Skłodowska-Curie Researcher MSCA-IF-GF

“La Sapienza”, University of Rome, Rome, Italy;

Center for Hellenic Studies, Harvard University,

Cambridge, MA, United States

[acinalli@chs.harvard.edu](mailto:acinalli@chs.harvard.edu)

[angela.cinalli@uniroma1.it](mailto:angela.cinalli@uniroma1.it)

### Abstract

This contribution examines musical and poetic tradition, in so far as it influenced the culture and society of the Hellenistic period. Epigraphy attests to the recollection of traditional heritage as one driving force for public-at-large performances. Extra-agonistic and agonistic performances pursued by the so-called *poeti vaganti*, travelling all over the cultural centres of Greece chasing fame and rewards, attest to different ways to preserve the legacy of musical and poetic tradition, by lingering on it or re-modulating its *facies*. Re-performing ancient times, through selections of dramas and lyric poetry, and demonstrating the musical structures and poetic ways of former days, had the purpose of strengthening social identity and reinvigorating communal knowledge. Inscriptions allow us to envisage the nuances and potentialities of these thoughtful revivals, highlighting the ways this concept could shift with time, context, and place.

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## Keywords

musical and poetic tradition – Hellenistic culture – *poeti vaganti* – dramatic and lyric re-performances – collective memory – cultural memory

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We all were sea-swallow'd, though some cast again,  
And by that destiny to perform an act  
Whereof what's past is prologue

W. SHAKESPEARE, *The Tempest*

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Popular entertainment played a multimodal role in shaping the artistic life and cultural identity of the Hellenistic world. Flanking court literature, this phenomenon gravitated between extra-agonistic performances and large-scale movements towards the ἀγῶνες. The main cultural centres were prestigious venues for the musical and literary performers who spread culture, trends, and professionalism all over Hellenistic Greece. Their activities are mainly documented by the epigraphic sources, which provide a large spectrum of valuable clues for the reconstruction of a cultural phenomenon “on-the-move”, as artistic travel featured the careers of the majority of the so-called *poeti vaganti*.<sup>1</sup>

We are used to portraying the Hellenistic period as an age focused on virtuosity, showmanship, and professionalism in music, poetry, and theatre.<sup>2</sup> The spectacular trend in performative arts described by the literary sources is only part of the picture though, as epigraphic evidence attests to an inclination towards traditional music and literature that aimed at reviving social identity and localism. Among the *poeti vaganti* inscriptions, the recollection of traditional heritage is a frequently recurring feature, encompassing information connected to the suitable ways in which music and poetry should convey it. Artistic innovation was welcome too, through new forms of artistry

1 Guarducci 1927-1929. The expression is evocative though it does not fit perfectly to this movement, as performers did not take erratic journeys but carefully planned their artistic endeavors. Plus, in some cases they participated in the artistic life of their own city.

2 West 1992, 356-85.



or compositions adhering to a fresher musical language (see *infra*), but sticking to tradition had its own circumstantial functionality. In the research on *poeti vaganti*, we can select three territorial approaches to tradition that describe, in different and representative ways, the music and poetry of the ancients as a “performative ground”. Through the inscriptions herein analyzed, this contribution aims to offer a sneak peek at the value of tradition in Hellenistic culture and to discuss the conservative power that the performing arts convey, bending to a cultural environment. The way we carry on the past defines our present.

## 1 Tradition as Interpretative Style

Towards the end of the 3rd century BC, the Mouseia festival of Thespieae started to grow in importance and the ἀγών renovation was set in motion, so that the thymelic competition became *stephanites*, pentaeteric, and isopythic.<sup>3</sup> In that phase, the support of the Ptolemaic dynasty<sup>4</sup> and the contribution

3 The reconstruction of the phases of the Mouseia is based on the epigraphic sources. Inscriptions attesting to the life of the ἀγών are not few, though often in a fragmentary state. For this reason, various scholars have attempted a reconstruction over time. To sum up different positions, Feyel (1942, 88-132) and Rigsby (1987) admit an annual celebration before the 230 BC, when a pentaeteric ἀγών was set. Between 215 and 208 BC, a thymelic ἀγών was established with five categories (aulodic, auletic, kitharistic, kitharodic, and epic poetry), retaining the scenic ones too. According to Knoepfler's reassessment of the discourse (Knoepfler 1996), a dramatic ἀγών existed before the pentaeteric re-organization of the mid-220s and afterwards both scenic and thymelic competitions coincided every four years. In his reconstruction of the Mouseia, Schachter (2010-2011) proposes three different stages of the Mouseia: the first one, dated 230-225 BC, as the institution of a thymelic and trieteric competition; the second one (225 or 217 ca.), as a re-organization of the thymelic ἀγών elevating the five categories to isopythic and *stephanitai* while the others (likely rhapsodes; heralds or trumpeters) were kept *chrematitai*; the third stage (late 210s) setting the institution of a pentaeteric dramatic ἀγών.

4 The cultural *trait d'union* between Boeotia and Egypt consisted of the cults of Dionysus and the Muses. The central place reserved in Boeotia for Dionysus—one of the most relevant divinities of the Lagides pantheon—and his association with the Muses especially in Thespieae, caught the attention of the Attalids other than the Ptolemies (Barbantani 2000, 163f.; Manieri 2009, 321). The engagement of Ptolemy IV and his sister-wife Arsinoe III in generously funding the Thespian Mouseia and the Heliconian sanctuary with a donation of prizes for the dramatic ἀγών and lands was meant to strengthen the image of the Lagides throughout Hellenistic Greece under the flagship of the Muses. Also poetry was likely engaged in promoting this sponsorship, as attested by P. Heid. 189 inv. 435 *verso*, a composition in elegiac distics to be read at the Lagides court and connecting the sovereigns to the Boeotian ἀγῶνες (Barbantani 2000). In return for the Ptolemies' intervention, Thespians celebrated Arsinoe with a statue of her on a bronzed ostrich ἐν Ἐλικῶνι (Paus. 9.31.1: whether the statue represented Arsinoe II or III is not specified; for recent bibliography on the matter see: Barbantani 2000, 154 n. 110; Prioux-Trinquier 2015) and with the dedication of coinage

of the *koinon* of the Isthmus and Nemea in the organization were crucial in elevating the festival from its regional level.<sup>5</sup> Before this late 3rd century enhancement, the ἀγών was conceivably annual and included musical and dancing competitions.<sup>6</sup> At this early stage, victors were awarded a tripod: many of these Pausanias saw himself<sup>7</sup> and some inscribed bases attesting to tripods' dedication to the Muses were found.<sup>8</sup> Among them is one offered by Straton, victorious in his homeland at the aulodic contest of the Mouseia. His dedication, in iambic trimeters,<sup>9</sup> thoroughly describes his art beyond celebrating the excellences of Thespiæ.

Vottéro 2002, 102-103 n° 41

3rd century BC (*ante* mid-220s)

- [-----]εἰ δ' ἐμέ  
[ἀείρατ' ᾗ]θλον, ἀλλὰ τὰ τέχνηαι σοφός  
[αὐλῶδ]ός, αὐλῶι φθόγγον εὖ προσαρμόσας,  
[Μουσᾶ]ν ὅπ[ω]ς μελιχρόν ἀπύσαι μέλος  
5 [βᾶσ]ιν τιθ[ε]ῖς πρὸς τέρμα καίριον ῥυθμῶι.  
[ἄπας δ' ἔβα ?] παρεῖμεν οἷς ἄειδ' ἀεὶ.

(Schachter 1961; Knoepfler 1996, 154; Barbantani 2000, 155; Manieri 2009, 322; Schachter 2010-2011, 39 n. 22). For an exhaustive reconstruction of the Lagides support of the Mouseia, see Manieri 2009, 321f., 357-62, 370-4 Thes. 10, 15, 16; Schachter 2010-2011, 38, 43-5.

5 The involvement of this artistic guild is attested from the start: see Manieri 2009, 318-22; Schachter 2010-2011, 34.

6 As for evidence of agonistic categories before the re-organization of the Mouseia, epic poetry (Epainettos and the Boeotian Aristides, 3rd cent. BC) and aulody (Straton, see below) are attested. Beyond them, Bakchiadas of Sikyon (Ath. 14.629a, 4th cent. BC?) and the *technites* Pythokles of Hermione (Nachtergaele 1977, 317-323 n. 15-15bis, 265-255 BC) might document dithyrambic performances (Schachter 2010-2011, 56f.). Nevertheless, their specialties could be interpreted differently, as Bakchiadas might have been a dancing professional and Pythokles might have performed as well in the aulody and rhapsody (ll. 9-10). See Manieri 2009, 349f., 354-7 Thes. 2, 7-9. Before the renovation, we could thus suppose the existence of a thymelic ἀγών including at least some of the five categories of the renovation phase. As for the dramatic ἀγών also included in the program, the positions are conflicting in recognizing for it an early phase as an annual and prized competition (Manieri 2009, 317-19), or a late activation as a pentaeteric competition promoted by the Lagides intervention (Schachter 2010-2011, 38f.). For a reconstruction of the ἀγών based on previous studies, see Manieri 2009, 313-40.

7 Paus. 9.31.3.

8 Other than Straton, two epic poets, and an anonymous victor: *I.Thespiæi* 205-7.

9 Cf. *I.Thespiæi* 1245. The iambic trimeter remained in fashion throughout the Hellenistic period in both literary and epigraphic compositions (Barbantani 2017, 368). As for dedications and funerary epigrams, this choice might be related to the realistic feature of iambus, resembling spoken language, so that reading of death or victory on stone kept together formality of the record and lyricism.

- Οὕτως ἐνῆς ἐν τῷ μέλει πολλά φάσις.  
 Τοιόσδ' ἐὼν αἰείρατ' ἐγ Μουσῶν ἐμέ,  
 Στράτων, ἀγῶνος, σφαῖι πάτραι μέγα κλέος.  
 10 Ἄ Θεσπία δ' ἔοικεν οὐ μόνον φέρειν  
 ἄ[νδ]ρας [μ]α[χ]ητάς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐμ Μούσαις ἄκροϋς.

l.3: [μελωδ]ός Dittenberger (*IG* 1818); Vottero 2002; Roesch (*I.Thespiiai* 204)

... raised me as a prize, but an αὐλωδός skilled in his art, thoroughly attuning his voice to the *aulos* to sing the honey-sweet melody of the Muses, setting to perfection the metrical cadence suitable to the rhythm. Everyone always came? to attend his vocal performance. There was so much resonance in his singing. Straton, as such, raised me at the ἀγών of the Muses, great glory for his fatherland. It appears that Thespieae not only produces warriors but also excellent men in the art of the Muses.

In the literary fiction of this epigram, missing the first verse,<sup>10</sup> the prize speaks for the winner, describing his talents. Straton's skills are defined through a technical lexicon not frequently attested: they pivot towards the musician's accuracy of the pitch according to the *aulos* (l. 3), the melodic cadences matching the rhythm (l. 5), and the richness of sound in his singing (l. 7). Accepting this reconstruction of the text for l. 6,<sup>11</sup> Straton obtained great success inso-much as members of the public came to Thespieae for his performances. The main difficulties in interpreting this text converge around lines 5 and 7. As for line 5, whereas we are allowed to integrate [βάσ]ιν by virtue of its attested association with ῥυθμός (Arist. *Metaph.* 1087b.37),<sup>12</sup> the expression πρὸς τέρμα<sup>13</sup> might rest upon two main possibilities referring to 1/ the perfection in art, accomplished at the highest level through constancy of technical skills and

10 The epigram shall begin with an antithesis, the αὐλωδός compared to another agonistic category, as the athletic one or one unworthy of the prize: Peek 1937, 234; Manieri 2009, 356f.

11 L. 6: ~ ~ ~ - παρ[χ]ειμένους ἄειδ' ἄει Roesch (*I. Thespiiai* 204); [—]ΔΙΣΔΕΙΑ παρ[χ]ειμένους ἄειδ' ἄει Dittenberger (*IG* VII 1818). Only substantial differences in the editions of the inscription are herein considered (l. 3, see above, and l. 6).

12 Vottero 2002, 103 n. 90. The couple βάσις - ῥυθμός might also refer to dancing in time (Barbantani 2018, 75 n. 74), admitting that dance was a feature of this aulodic performance. Cf. the (dancing or singing?) chorus added to the kitharistic performance by Lysander of Sykion: Ath. 14.638a.

13 The expression πρὸς τέρμα, as such or as πρὸς τέρμασιν (τέρματι), usually indicates the end of life (Eur. *Andr.* 1081; Plut. *Phil.* 18.4; Anth. Gr. App. *ES* 635; *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 13113; *I.Cret.* I xvi, 24) or the highest point (Ar. *Av.* 705).

the artistic choices taken throughout Straton's career;<sup>14</sup> 2/ the skill of matching rhythm and cadences towards the turning point<sup>15</sup>—i.e. the turning strophe—, thus respecting the structure of strophic responsion. The former interpretation appears to be the most likely as it recalls in a figurative sense the further occurrences—both literary and epigraphic<sup>16</sup>—of the expression πρὸς τέρμα, since excellence in art could be intended as the ultimate goal, the highest point achieved by this Thespian αὐλωδός. As for line 7, φάσις pairs up with μέλος and describes the utterance of the singing voice:<sup>17</sup> Straton's was rich, resonant, and powerful.

So Straton was a singer but his specialty, gaining him victory at the Mouseia, was the aulodic one, which is regularly recorded in the lists of victors of the Mouseia since the 3rd to the 1st century BC.<sup>18</sup> This justifies the integration of αὐλωδός qualifying Straton at the beginning of l. 3, as μελωδός is not otherwise attested in catalogues and thus far no further comparisons are documented in Boeotia.

Thus, this epigram describes a professional skilled in the *technē* of singing, for the rigorous intonation and the remarkable sonority of his voice, but also provided with the *epistēmē* of music (and movement?),<sup>19</sup> as he was capable of appropriately matching a metrical sequence to the rhythm set by a wind instrument.

In this celebratory epigram, the main focus explaining the agonistic victory is entailed in one crucial quality: the appropriateness of Straton's resounding singing, consisting in the rhythmic correspondence between music and words as it was suitable to the traditional musical arrangement, which had been deconstructed by the trends of the New Music, beginning with the experimentations in auletic virtuosity.<sup>20</sup> The description of Straton's talents seems to function as the definition of a specific musical tradition, the artistic taste in keeping with the context of the Mouseia. By the time of Straton's victory, this festival was defined by a local feature that conceivably had an impact on the

14 Τέρμα as the goal, the destination: Hom. *Il.* 23.333, 358; Archestr. fr. 34.10.

15 Hom. *Il.* 23.309, 462, 466.

16 See notes 13–14.

17 In advancing this interpretation, Aristotle comes in handy once again. In *Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας*, φάσις defines the spoken utterances while carrying out the discussion on words and names and the nature of sound, speech, and thought: Arist. *Int.* 16b.27–9, 17a.18–20. Whitaker 1996, 9–12, 42–50.

18 *IG VII* 1735, 1760, 1762, 3197; *I.Thespiai* 156, 157, 161, 163, 164, 170–2, 182. Furthermore, as Straton's dedication should be dated before the Mouseia renovation, we shall include the aulody among the specialties performed with continuity at the ἄγων (see note 6).

19 See note 14.

20 Csapo 2004, 5, 9, 13–16, 22 (with further literature on the matter). Pl. *R.* 298d; Arist. *Po.* 1449b.28f.; D.H. *Comp.* 19.

way contests were set up and on the aspects that were then appreciated in the evaluation stage. According to this text, we gather that a certain conservatism of matching rhythm and voice and excellence of singing technique for intonation and utterance were the very talents expected by judges and audience at the aulodic contest of the Mouseia. Furthermore, the honey-sweet melody of the Muses (l. 4) might refer to a specific repertoire typically performed at this Boeotian ἀγών and this element would define, beyond the form, the content of performance that the virtuosi had to deliver at the Mouseia. At any event, just like nowadays, every contest had its own distinctive characteristics appealing to the competing specialties and categories. The aspects connected with the artistic essence of this specific festival and with localism, which Straton could fit very well being from Thespieae himself, determined his victory and deserved the memory of a detailed epigrammatic celebration on stone.

## 2 Tradition as Preservation of Common Knowledge

In the 2nd century BC, Delphi was one of the most dynamic centres of the artistic circuits of the Hellenistic world, as a significant turnout of artists attests.<sup>21</sup> The praise of the god is the *leitmotiv* featuring the cultural and performative life of Hellenistic Delphi and all performances of the itinerant virtuosi took place under the auspices of Apollo. Whereas the lists of participants and victors at Delphian contests support us in reconstructing the impact of the turnover of artists throughout the Hellenistic period, the extra-agonistic performances allow us to gain insight into the panorama of popular entertainment. We can find a whole roster of specialists of music and literature: young artists chasing affirmation in their careers and the most celebrated competitors searching for further accomplishments. These performers used to give public exhibitions<sup>22</sup> or to show off at conventions of top players in between the demonstrations and competitions with which we are acquainted, especially in Delphi.<sup>23</sup> Hellenistic Delphi hosted a double-faced cultural scene fostering traditional tendencies and some new artistic waves.<sup>24</sup> As a matter of

21 For insight into the itinerant artists visiting Delphi in the Hellenistic period, see Cinalli 2018.

22 Mostly, ἀκροάσεις and ἐπιδείξεις.

23 For an in-depth analysis of these *kermesses* with a spirit of competition taking place between the 3rd and the 1st centuries BC in Delphi and abroad, where artists were bestowed with special rewards by the city and obtained great success, see Cinalli 2014.

24 E.g., the experts of the ὕδραυλις and of the μαγφδία (*Syll*<sup>3</sup> 737; Robert 1938 7, 1). We also acknowledge artistic products in between musical conservatism and novelty, as the vocal

fact, the recollection of tradition, through either poetry or music, was strongly preferred by popular audiences, and this is reflected in the awards bestowed by the city. But there are different ways of keeping tradition alive, by re-shaping it to entertain the audience (a) or by re-performing it to offer a demonstration of the music and poetry of the ancients (b, c).

a/ *FD* III 3, 128 (200-175 BC): Σάτυρος Εὐμένου Σάμιος·| τούτωι πρώτωι  
συμβέβηκεν μόνωι| ἄνευ ἀνταγωνιστῶν αὐλήσαι| τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ ἀξιωθέντα ἐπι-  
δοῦ<sup>5</sup>ναι τῶι θεῶι καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι μετὰ| τὸν γυμνικὸν τῇ θυσίαι ἐν τῶι στα|δίωι  
τῶι Πυθικῶι ᾄσμα μετὰ χοροῦ| Διόνυσον καὶ κιθάρισμα ἐκ Βακχῶν| Εὐριπίδου.

Satyros from Samos, son of Eumenes. It happened to him for the first time to play the *aulos* alone without competitors in the ἀγών and, being regarded worthy, to offer to the god and the Greeks, after the athletic contest during the sacrifice in the Pythian stadium, the *Dionysos*, song with the chorus, and a song on the *kithara* from the *Bacchae* of Euripides.

b/ *FD* III 1, 49, ll. 1-3 (160 BC): ἐπειδὴ Θράσων καὶ Σωκράτης Πάτρωνος  
Αἰγυράται παραγενόμενοι ποθ' ἄμ' ἐπιδείξεις ἐποίησαντο τῶι θεῶι διὰ τῶν  
λυρικῶν συστημάτων προφε|ρόμενοι [τ]ῶν ἀρχαίων πο[ητ]ῶν ἃ ἦν πρέποντα  
ποτί τε τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὰν πόλιν ἀμῶν, κτλ.

... since Thrason and Sokrates from Aigeira sons of Patron, who came to us, delivered the demonstrations for the god applying the melodic and harmonic systems (i.e. intervals and scales) of the lyric poets, presenting what of the ancient poets fits to the god and to our town ...

c/ *Syll*<sup>3</sup> 703, ll. 3-12 (118 BC): ἐπειδὴ Κλεόδωρος| καὶ Θρασύβουλος οἱ Θεοξενίδα  
Φεναῖται παρα|γενόμενοι ποθ' ἄμ' ἐπιδείξεις ἐποίησαντο τῶι| θεῶι διὰ τὸς  
μουσικὰς τέχνας, ἐν αἷς καὶ εὐδοκί|μουν, προφερόμενοι ἀριθμοὺς τῶν ἀρχαίων  
ποιη|τῶν, οἱ ἦσαν πρέποντες ποτί τε τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὰν πόλιν ἀμῶν ἔτι δὲ καὶ  
τὰν ἑνδαμίαν καὶ ἀναστροφὰν| καὶ διδασκαλίαν τῶν παιδῶν ἐποίησαντο ἀξίως|  
αὐσώτων τε καὶ τᾶς ἰδίας πατρίδος καὶ τᾶς ἀμε|τέρας πόλιος, κτλ.

... since Kleodoros and Thrasyboulos from Pheneos, sons of Theoxenidas, who came to us, delivered demonstrations for the god through the

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and instrumental ensembles orchestrated by the *technitai* Limenios and Athenaios (?) for the Pythais celebrations (*CID* 3, 1 and 2). Richer tonal and melodic arrangements (West 1992, 383) and formal extravagances went along with certain traditionalistic approach: Pöhlmann 2018.



musical art, in which they were highly esteemed, presented the rhythmic patterns of the ancient poets which were appropriate to the god and to our city and conducted their stay, their behavior, and served a lesson to the children in a honorable way for themselves, for their fatherland, and for our city ...

Satyros from Samos was a performer of multiple talents who, in the early decades of the 2nd century BC, arrived at Delphi to participate in the auletic contest, conceivably of the Pythia.<sup>25</sup> However, he got caught in peculiar circumstances and found himself competing alone with the *aulos*. Nonetheless he could put to good use this unexpected situation and stay in town to offer more of his art at one of the most relevant Pan-Hellenic displays: the sacrifice of the Pythian festival. There, he performed two *pièces de repertoire*<sup>26</sup> for which the inscription stresses the prominence of the voice: the *ᾄσμα μετὰ χοροῦ* named *Dionysos*, which could be either a traditional song or a composition of his own, and the *κithάρισμα* from the *Bacchae* of Euripides as a solo re-performance.<sup>27</sup> For the *κithάρισμα*, which adds the *kithara* to his artistic skills, Satyros presented to the audience a Euripidean revival sung on the strings. This is further testimony of the preference Euripides<sup>28</sup> and the *Bacchae*<sup>29</sup> continued to collect over time, and the execution on the *kithara* testifies to the “anthological way”

25 This hypothesis is explained at length in Cinalli 2017 and resumed in Cinalli 2020.

26 Both the *ᾄσμα*—gleaned from a choral repertoire (cf. *FD* 111 3, 86)—and the *κithάρισμα*—a solo *pièce* of the tradition—drew a parabola of the Dionysiac celebration and contributed to a poetic representation of the cohabitation between Apollo and Dionysus in Delphi, as stated by the paeon of Philodamos: Cinalli 2018. The paeon, which attests to the cult of Dionysus strengthening in Delphi, has been interpreted as a tool of Macedonian propaganda, Athenian power or Amphictyonic influence. For an in-depth discussion of the matter, see Manieri 2015, 29ff.

27 We need to highlight the divergence of opinions on the extra-agonistic performances. Some scholars interpret the *ᾄσμα* and *κithάρισμα* as different parts of the same re-performance from the *Bacchae*: Eitrem *et al.* 1955, 27; Gentili 1977, 17-19; Dihle 1981, 31; Xanthakis-Karamanos 1993, 125f.; Tedeschi 2003, 111f.; Prauscello 2006. In particular, Gentili (1977, 17) reads the ll. 7-9 as: “uno spettacolo consistente nel canto delle parti di Dioniso nelle *Baccanti* di Euripide, con l'accompagnamento della cetra e con l'intervento del coro”. Even though it is not possible to propose a final solution on this matter, reading in the ll. 7-9 two different *pièces* (after Nachtergaele 1977, 327, followed by Csapo-Slater 1994, 45; Perrin 1997, 213 n. 64; Chandezon 1998, 50-53; Wilson 2002, 63; Hall 2002, 13; Chaniotis 2009b, 84), would seem more consistent and respectful of the symmetric sentence structure. In this way, the *Διόνυσος* of line 8 would be interpreted as a title for the *ᾄσμα* rather than the dramatic role of Dionysus. See Cinalli 2017.

28 E.g. Ath. 12.537d-e. Nachtergaele 1977, 483f. n. 69. See Pickard-Cambridge 1968, 286f.; Nervegna 2013, 18-20, 85-7, 11-113 *et passim*.

29 Cf. Plut. *Crass.* 33.2-7.

dramas were also approached in the Hellenistic period and beyond by professionals and theatre companies, depending on need and occasion.<sup>30</sup>

It is worth bringing into the discussion a later though extremely representative document allowing us to better envisage the ways the old poetic tradition could be re-shaped. Conceivably in the first half of the 2nd century AD, the Milesian Themison was praised by his fellow-citizens for the victories achieved as a *periodonikēs* and for the artistic endeavors he carried out for the first time ever: *μόνον καὶ πρῶτον Εὐρεπιίδην, Σοφοκλέα καὶ Τειμόθεον ἑαυτῷ μελοποιήσαντα* (ll. 8-10).<sup>31</sup> Among the various interpretations advanced for these lines,<sup>32</sup> the one inferring that Themison re-phrased the well-known melodies of Euripides, Sophocles, and Timotheos' works seems the most compelling.<sup>33</sup> We might imagine a medley of the most popular tunes composed as a whole *pièce* in content and harmonic form.<sup>34</sup> So the public-at-large could enjoy a selection of fast-clip scenes of dramatic and lyric poetry to be sung as a continuum, in the way operatic medleys are arranged nowadays.

The re-performances of the Samian Satyros and the Milesian Themison show that tunes of renowned poetry could be recast as selections and medleys.

Nevertheless, musical and poetic tradition could also be demonstrated without reshaping it. In the second half of the second century BC, two pairs of artists arose as champions of the tradition and during their stay in Delphi they made a point of it through their art. The siblings Thrason and Sokrates from Aigeira gave demonstrations (*ἐπιδείξεις*)<sup>35</sup> focused on the intervals and scales of ancient lyric poetry (b). About forty years later, Kleodoros and Thrasyboulos, siblings from Pheneos, displayed their *technē* through the rhythms of the ancient poets that were suitable to the god and the *polis* (c).

30 Gentili 1977, 8-23, Nervegna 2007, 18-21, 25-31 (criticizing Gentili and commenting on this inscription, see 31). Nervegna reasonably points out that the "anthological" remakes and the process of the fragmentation of drama can be suggested for music and educational performances but less certainly for theatrical re-performances.

31 Broneer 1953, 192f.

32 For the history of the studies since on the edition of the inscription and the interpretation of its ambiguous lines, see Bélis 1999, 174-7. Bélis herself has suggested that Themison set to music all the works of the three great authors. Later, Prauscello (2009, 111-16) proposed that Themison composed his own music on the texts of Euripides, Sophocles, and Timotheos, inferring that at that stage the original lines of music were already lost.

33 L. Lomiento, *BMCR* 2007.04.57.

34 For an excursus on terminology indicating ancient composers of vocal and instrumental music (*μελῶν ποιητής* = *μελοποιός* / *μελογράφος*, *ποιητής* *κρουμάτων*), see Bélis 1994. Ancient composers were skilled both in music theory and practice and could write for other musicians or for their own performances.

35 For an analysis of the typologies of performances in the Hellenistic Delphi, see Cinalli 2018.

Even casting a glance at the documents, the parallel elements are clear-cut. Each is a pair of μουσικοί possessing the *technē* rather than the *epistēmē* of music: accordingly, they could play proficiently but their skills in composition are not declared. Their task consisted in giving an account of the poetic and musical heritage, specifically what of the ancient poetry was considered decent and appropriate to Apollo and Delphi, but in different and complementary ways. The first pair from Aigeira demonstrated the intervals, scales, and chords of lyric poetry (b, l. 2: τῶν λυρικῶν συστήματα):<sup>36</sup> the musical system founded on the fingerings of the lyre;<sup>37</sup> these siblings properly selected those most suitable to tradition. The latter pair reached the same outcome by focusing on the rhythmic and metric cadences (c, l. 7: ἀριθμοὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων ποιητῶν).<sup>38</sup>

A passage from the *De musica* supports us in better acknowledging how the music of the ancients was intentionally more developed in the rhythmic aspects than in the melodic ones.

Πάλιν δ' αὖ εἴ τις καὶ περὶ τῆς ποικιλίας ὀρθῶς τε καὶ ἐμπείρως ἐπισκοποίη, τὰ τότε καὶ τὰ νῦν συγκρίνων, εὗροι ἂν ἐν χρήσει οὖσαν καὶ τότε τὴν ποικιλίαν. τῇ γὰρ περὶ τὰς ῥυθμοποιίας ποικιλίᾳ οὖσῃ ποικιλωτέρα ἐχρήσαντο οἱ παλαιοί· ἐτίμων γοῦν τὴν ῥυθμικὴν ποικιλίαν, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς κρουσματικὰς δὲ διαλέκτους τότε ποικιλώτερα ἦν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ νῦν φιλομελεῖς, οἱ δὲ τότε φιλόρρυθμοι. Δῆλον οὖν ὅτι οἱ παλαιοὶ οὐ δι' ἄγνοιαν ἀλλὰ διὰ προαίρεσιν ἀπέιχοντο τῶν κεκλασμένων μελῶν.

Again, take also the matter of complexity and study it properly and with a thorough acquaintance with the subject, comparing the compositions of a former day with those of the present, and you will find that complexity was current in those days too. Thus in the conduct of the rhythm the ancients employed a complexity greater than that in use today, for they set great store on complexity in rhythm. Further, the interplay of the accompaniment was then more varied, as moderns like music for the tune, whereas the ancients were interested in the beat. It is clear then that the ancients abstained from overmodulated music not from ignorance but on principle.

Ps.-Plut. *Mus.* 1138b-c, transl. EINARSON-DE LACY 1967

36 *LSJ* 1996, 1735 col. 11, s.v. σύστημα: "system of intervals, scale".

37 Grout 1984, 43.

38 *LSJ* 1996, 240 col. 1, s.v. ἀριθμός: "rhythm".

Standing by the fact that mode and rhythm were servants to *logos* in ancient music,<sup>39</sup> this passage emphasises that the ancients took into great consideration the rules of consistency and formal symmetry and devoted their efforts to an enhancing complexity of rhythmic patterns. In particular, the decree praising the brothers from Pheneos sees eye to eye with this excerpt from the *De musica*, as it confirms the crucial role of the ἀριθμοί in performing and teaching ancient theory. Furthermore, the decree for the brothers of Aigeira (b) adds another *tessera* in reconstructing the fundamentals of ancient music, consisting also of harmony beyond rhythm and despite μέλος. Combining the technical features demonstrated by the two pairs of specialists of the tradition, we obtain a vision of the essentials in ancient music. It does not seem coincidental that the educational value of the performances by the siblings Kleodoros and Thrasyboulos in Delphi is emphasised in the decree (c, ll. 10–12). In fact, while for the pair from Aigeira the ἐπιδείξεις seem to be focused on the performative aspect, in the case of the pair from Pheneos they appear as successful<sup>40</sup> demonstrations particularly addressed to the youngest part of the audience. They, in fact, enriched their stay in Delphi also with a διδασκαλία for children, demonstrating to the young audience the decorum and gravitas of ancient poets, in particular the ones pleasing to Apollo and the city. In this way, the element of decency joins localism in defining Delphic poetic and musical heritage, in so far as it strengthened social identity.

The decrees honouring these siblings show a technical lexicon that is connected with musical appropriateness and the argument that this concept was important is supported by the Boeotian dedication of the Thespian Straton (above) which, by the way, also corroborates the priority of metrics and rhythm as the crucial flagships of tradition (l. 5).

### 3 Tradition as a Liquid Heritage: Prologue Becoming Past

Pivoting to performances recalling ancient times, we shall consider one more document, which contains crucial proof that communal heritage was a main feature of popular performances in the Hellenistic period. From the Archaic age to Roman times, music and poetry were prime aspects in the cultural life of Crete. Virtuosi of all performative arts were welcomed in all cities of the island, which was the homeland of the pioneers of rhythms, poetry, dance, and experts

39 Pl. R. 399d–e.

40 For the verb εὐδοκίμew, used to praise the successful pursuits of men of culture and doctors, see Chaniotis (2009b, 88).

of both string and wind instruments. We may just recall renowned personalities such as Thaletas, introducing the paeon and the rhythm of the Cretic foot in Sparta,<sup>41</sup> or the κιθαρωδός Ametor from Eleutherna, first to sing erotic songs on the strings.<sup>42</sup> In the Hellenistic age and beyond, several Cretans stood out in the most famous ἀγῶνες and in extra-agonistic performances all over Greece and—as observed for Delphi—the epigraphic evidence shows that the mainstream of tradition was also featured with a more modern professionalism.<sup>43</sup>

The recollection of traditional poetry and literature occurs in a very representative way in the 2nd century BC decrees attesting to the performative activity of the κιθαρωδός Menekles, sent from Teos as ambassador, with the assignment of reconfirming the good relationships with the cities of Crete. Among the texts documenting the diplomatic and artistic activity of this Teian delegation,<sup>44</sup> the inscriptions of Knosos and Priansos thoroughly describe the endeavors of Menekles. Although the two decrees are quite specular, the one from Priansos proves the most meticulous:

*I.Cret.* 1 xxiv, 1

170-140 BC

Πριανσίων. | ἔδοξε Πριανσίων τοῖς κόσμοις καὶ τῇ πόλει. | ἐπειδὴ Ἡρόδοτος  
Μ<η>νοδότου καὶ Μενεκλῆς Διονυσίῳ ἐξαποσταλέντες πρεγγευταὶ πορτί  
ἀμέ πα[<sup>5</sup>ρὰ Τηίων οὐ μόνον ἀνεστρά[φεν] <π>ε<ρ>ό<ν>τω<ς> ἐν τῇ πόλει  
καὶ [διελέγ]εν περὶ τᾶ[ς ἀμῶν ἰσ]το[ρί]ας,<sup>45</sup> ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπεδείξατο Μενεκλῆς  
μετὰ κιθάρας τὰ τε Τι[μοθέου καὶ Πολυίδου καὶ τῶν ἀμῶν παλαιῶν ποιη]τᾶν  
καλῶς καὶ πρεπόντως, εἰς<η>νεγκε δὲ κύκλον<sup>10</sup> ἱστορημέναν ὑπὲρ Κρήτας  
κα[ὶ τ]ῶν ἐν [Κρή]ται γε[γονότων θεῶν τε καὶ ἡρώων, [ποι]ησάμενο[ς τ]ᾶν  
συναγωγᾶν ἐκ πολλῶν ποιητᾶ[ν] καὶ ἱστοριαγράφων· διὸ δεδῶσθαι τῇ πόλει  
ἐπαινεῖσαι Τηίος(!) ὅτι πλείστον λόγον ποιῶνται περὶ παιδείας, ἐπαι<sup>15</sup>νέσαι  
δὲ καὶ Ἡρόδοτον καὶ Μενεκλῆν ὅτι καλὰν καὶ πρέπονσαν πεποιήνται τὰν

41 Ps.-Plut. *Mus.* 1133f, 1134d, 1146b; Paus. 1.14.4; Strab. 10.4.16, 18.

42 Ath. 14.638b.

43 For example, specialties referable to particular typologies of dance, poetry, and mime, as the μυθῶν ὀρχηστής, the μοσχολόγος, and the ῥωμαῖστής (*I.Cret.* 222, 223; Le Rider 1966, 258f.). A collection of the epigraphic evidence on the *poeti vaganti* in the Hellenistic Crete is forthcoming in *QUCC* 126.3 (Cinalli forthcoming).

44 The *antigraphoi* of the eight decrees recording the actions of this delegation are preserved in Teos: *I.Cret.*: 11 iii, 2\*; 1 v, 53\*; 1 vi, 2\*; 1 xix, 2\*; 11 xv, 2\*; *SGDI* 5182. Apart from the inscriptions of Knosos (*I.Cret.* 1 viii, 11\*) and Priansos, the others only focus on the status of political relations between Teos and Cretan cities, mostly confirming friendship and sacredness of Teos and granting *isopoliteia*.

45 Waddington *ap.* Le Bas; Jacoby (*FrGrH* 466 T1). Περί τᾶ[ς] ...7...το...ας Guarducci (*I.Cret.*).

παρεπιδημίαν| ἐν ταῖ πόλει ἀμῶν· διασαφῆσαι τε ταῦτα καὶ Τη|οις ὅ<π>ως  
ἐπιγινώσκωντι.| ἔρρωσθε.

Decree of the Priansians. It was resolved by the *kosmoi* and the city of Priansos. Since Herodotos, son of Menodoros, and Menekles, son of Dionysios, who were sent to us as envoys by the Teians, not only dwelt in our city appropriately and held conversations pertaining our culture (?), but Menekles also put on a display with the *kithara* of the compositions of Timotheos and Polyidos and our ancient poets finely and fittingly, and he presented a story-cycle about Crete and the gods and heroes who were born in Crete, creating a collection of many poets and historiographers; therefore it is resolved by the city to praise the Teians because they bestow great importance on culture, and to praise both Herodotos and Menekles because they conducted themselves during their residence in our city in a fine and fitting manner; and this shall be reported to the Teians so that they may be aware of it. Farewell.

The artistic activity of Menekles consisted of two main actions: he delivered ἐπιδείξεις on the *kithara* on traditional *pièces* of the kitharodic repertoire, from Timotheos, Polyidos, and other ancient poets of Crete; he also collected, from the ancient literature, a κύκλος ἱστορημένη<sup>46</sup> on gods and heroes of the island. As for this latter task, it might appear as a spoken narration. In fact, in all the decrees it is specified that both the ambassadors spoke properly about the relations between Teos and Crete, which they did for political matters and yet this cultural heritage might have applied also to the public-at-large, hinged upon the traditional local narrative, as public story-telling.<sup>47</sup>

As local culture was the focus of the narrative collection of Cretan stories, so it was for the demonstrations on the *kithara*, conducted in a fine and fitting manner, as is proper for a man of culture<sup>48</sup>—local culture with some nuances to bring into focus, though. A significant excerpt from the 19th *Discourse* by Dio Chrysostomus proves useful to this task.

46 The expression is feminine (cf. *LSJ* s.v. κύκλος, ὁ and dor. ἄ, see *infra* II. 11; Schmid-Stählin 1929, 197 n. 5: κύκλος ἱστορημένων) and it does not seem elsewhere attested as such, although the middle form of ἱστορέω is of very common use. Since the first Hellenistic age onwards, the κύκλος was one way of bequeathing tradition: cf. the Κύκλος ἱστορικός by Dionysius Cyclographus (Meliadò 2005; Lulli 2013; Ceccarelli 2015) and the anthologies collected by Leon son of Ariston celebrating Hera and the naval ventures accomplished by the Samians (*IG* XII 6 1, 285).

47 For an extensive discussion of Menekles' artistic personality, see Cinalli forthcoming.

48 This expression occurs in the decree of the Knosians: *I.Cret.* I viii, 11\*, ll. 10–11.



τὸ μέντοι τῶν κιθαρῳδῶν τε καὶ νῆ Δία τῶν ὑποκριτῶν οὐ παρ' ὀλίγον μοι δοκεῖ διαφέρειν πρὸς ἡδονήν. <ἦ> τε γάρ φωνὴ μείζων καὶ δῆλον ὅτι ἐμμελεστέρα ἢ τε λέξις οὐκ αὐτοσχέδιος, ὥσπερ ἡ τῶν ῥητόρων ἐξ ὑπογύου τὰ πολλὰ πειρωμένων λέγειν, ἀλλὰ ποιητῶν ἐπιμελῶς καὶ κατὰ σχολὴν πεποιηκότων. καὶ τὰ γε πολλὰ αὐτῶν ἀρχαῖά ἐστι καὶ πολὺ σοφωτέρων ἀνδρῶν ἢ τῶν νῦν.

But I must say that the performance of those who sing to the *kithara*, aye, and of the actors too, seems to me in no small degree superior to the pleasure it gives. For their voices are louder and undoubtedly better modulated, while their language is not extempore like that of the orators, who generally try to speak without preparation; but poets have composed painstakingly and at their leisure. And the most of what they give us comes from ancient times, and from much wiser men than those of the present...

D. Chr. 19.5, transl. COHOON 1939

By means of this passage we grasp how, still yet in the 1st century AD, the activity of the κιθαρῳδός was perceived. His professionalism was assimilated to the poet and entailed both skills of composition and of interpretation. The repertoire of wise and decent poets of ancient times was the κιθαρῳδός forte and Menekles ἐπιδείξεις match this concept.

The content of the kitharodic re-performances delivered by this Teian ambassador paves the way towards two thematic cornerstones: the cultural education carried out by the Cretans (Timotheos and Polyidos) and the cultural heritage defined by a very local authorship (ancient Cretan poets). These concepts portray for Crete the high level of protection and control over memory.

We are aware that Cretan παῖδες received an education based on artistic and civic decorum, by virtue of an educational project aimed at training good citizens who were aware of their very own tradition (learning the laws through a musical support; a selection of the hymns and encomia, and the basics of music).<sup>49</sup> For a parallel example from the educational milieu, it is worth recall-

49 Ael. VH 2.39: Κρήτες δὲ τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ἐλευθέρους μανθάνειν ἐκέλευον τοὺς νόμους μετὰ τινος μελωδίας, ἵνα ἐκ τῆς μουσικῆς ψυχαγωγῶνται καὶ εὐκολώτερον αὐτοὺς τῇ μνήμῃ διαλαμβάνωσι, καὶ ἵνα μή τι τῶν κεκωλυμένων πράξαντες ἀγνοίᾳ πεποιηκέναι ἀπολογίαν ἔχωσι. δεῦτερον δὲ μάθημα ἔταξαν τοὺς τῶν θεῶν ὕμνους μανθάνειν· τρίτον τὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐγκώμια.

'The Cretans commanded all free-born children to learn the Laws with a kind of melody, in order to be allured by music and to learn them by heart more easily, so that if they committed anything contrary to the Law, they could not plead ignorance. The second thing that they were appointed was to learn the hymns of the gods; the third, the encomia of good men.'

ing the young Arkades whose didactic curriculum comprised learning the main structures of poetry and the *nomoi* of Timotheos and Philoxenos<sup>50</sup> that were performed in *juniore*s and *seniore*s contests.<sup>51</sup>

If the champion of the New Music is explicable in the Arcadian environment by virtue of the hostile relations with Sparta where Timotheos was fiercely opposed,<sup>52</sup> the Cretan decrees open up a wider perspective from a thematic and geographic point of view. Timotheos was by then considered a classic of Hellenic poetry<sup>53</sup> but his association with Polyidos in Crete suggests a readjusting heritage that by that time had become traditional. More documents in fact confirm the conceptual association of Timotheos and Polyidos:

καθόλου δ' εἴ τις τῶ μὴ χρῆσθαι τεκμαιρόμενος καταγνώσεται τῶν μὴ χρωμένων ἄγνοιαν, πολλῶν ἂν τι φθάνοι καὶ τῶν νῦν καταγιγνώσκων, οἷον τῶν μὲν Δωριωνείων τοῦ Ἀντιγενειδείου τρόπου καταφρονούντων, ἐπειδὴ περ οὐ χρώνται αὐτῶ, τῶν δ' Ἀντιγενειδείων τοῦ Δωριωνείου διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν, τῶν δὲ κιθαρωδῶν τοῦ Τιμοθείου τρόπου· σχεδὸν γὰρ ἀποπεφοιτήκασιν εἰς τε τὰ κατατύμματα καὶ εἰς τὰ Πολυείδου ποιήματα.

Strab. 10.4.20: παῖδας δὲ γράμματα τε μανθάνειν καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῶν νόμων ᾠδὰς καὶ τινα εἶδη τῆς μουσικῆς.

'The children must learn, not only their letters, but also the songs prescribed in the laws and certain forms of music'. (Transl. Jones 1928).

50 On the possible interpretation of these Arkadian *nomoi* in the style of dithyrambs, see Ceccarelli 2013, 168; Ps.-Plut. *Mus.* 1132e.

51 Polyb. 4.20.8-11: ταῦτα γὰρ πᾶσιν ἐστὶ γνῶριμα καὶ συνήθη, διότι σχεδὸν παρὰ μόνοις Ἀρκάσι πρῶτον μὲν οἱ παῖδες ἐκ νηπίων ἄδειν ἐθίζονται κατὰ νόμους τοὺς ὕμνους καὶ παιάνας, οἷς ἕκαστοι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους ἥρωας καὶ θεοὺς ὕμνουσι· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς Φιλοξένου καὶ Τιμοθέου νόμους μανθάνοντες πολλῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ χορεύουσι κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν τοῖς Διονυσιακοῖς αὐληταῖς ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις, οἱ μὲν παῖδες τοὺς παιδικοὺς ἄγῶνας, οἱ δὲ νεανίσκοι τοὺς τῶν ἀνδρῶν λεγομένους.

'For it is a well-known fact, familiar to all, that it is hardly known except in Arcadia, that in the first place the boys from their earliest childhood are trained to sing in measure the hymns and paeans in which by traditional usage they celebrated the heroes and gods of each particular place: later they learn the measures of Philoxenos and Timotheus, and every year in the theatre they compete keenly in choral singing to the accompaniment of professional *aulos*-players, the boys in the contest proper to them and the young men in what is called the men's contest'. (Transl. Paton 1922, slightly modified).

The αὐληταί accompanying the choruses of boys can be interpreted as the *technitai* of Dionysus (if with the dative τοῖς Διονυσιακοῖς are not intended the Dionysia ἄγῶνες: cf. transl. by C. Tartaglini, Roma: Newton 1998). We can understand the presence of the *technitai* in a children's contest more easily if we recall young virtuosi playing at the final rounds of contests nowadays with the minor casts of the most renowned orchestras.

52 See Prauscello 2009 for a detailed analysis of the matter.

53 Csapo-Wilson 2009, 279f.

In short, if ignorance is to be imputed to anyone who does not follow a certain practice, that will involve you in a hasty verdict against many moderns—as against the school of Dorion, since (holding it in contempt) they do not employ the style of Antigeneidas in turn, who on the same ground do not employ the same manner of Dorion, and against the singers to the *kithara* who have no use for the style of Timotheus, for they have to all intents abandoned it for the “patches” and the composition of Polyidos.

Ps.-Plut. *Mus.* 1138a-b, transl. EINARSON-DE LACY 1967

Πολυίδου δὲ σεμνυνομένου ὡς ἐνίκησε Τιμόθεον ὁ μαθητὴς αὐτοῦ Φιλωτᾶς, ὁ αὐμᾶζειν ἔφη, εἰ ἄγνοεῖς ὅτι αὐτὸς μὲν ψηφίσματα ποιεῖ, Τιμόθεος δὲ νόμους.

When Polyidus was boasting because his pupil Philotas had carried off the prize instead of Timotheus, Stratonicus said, ‘I am surprised that you don’t know that Philotas merely makes decrees, while Timotheus makes laws.’

Ath. 8.352b, transl. GULICK 1969

These professionals, who at the *akme* of their careers stood out in the dithyramb at Athens in 398 BC, represented the old and the new.<sup>54</sup> After being considered avant-garde for arranging eleven strings on the lyre and for taking the ancient music ἐπὶ τὸ μαλακώτερον,<sup>55</sup> Timotheos became a statement, as documented by the re-performances of his work spanning the centuries.<sup>56</sup> He was then replaced by Polyidos’ new techniques. Athenaeus in fact describes them as opponents and Stratonikos’ motto does not seem to show that Polyidos was not capable of “making laws”, unlike his pupil. It rather gives the impression of difficult understanding of Polyidos’ novelty as a crucial moment in the re-arrangement of tradition that remained stuck in memory. Nonetheless, this does not mean that the further passage of crystallization of Polyidos production into traditional repertoire did not happen. The Cretan inscriptions in fact acknowledge quite the opposite, in so far as both Timotheos and Polyidos appear as two sides of the same coin: they both were by then essentials of the

54 D. S. 14.46.6; *Marm. Par. FrGrH* 239. 68A.

55 Sud. T620e; e.g., Plut. *Inst. Lac.* 17.238c. Vd. West 1992, 361-4, 372, 381; Prauscello 2009, 181-8.

56 *IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 3055; in 320/319 BC, the παῖδες χορός of the Kekropis tribe gained the victory at the Great Dionysia singing Timotheos’ dithyramb *Elpenor*, accompanied by the *aulos* player Pantaleon from Sikyon; Plut. *Phil.* 11: the *kitharōidos* Pylas performed Timotheos’ *Persians* (ca. 206 BC) at the Nemean ἀγών; the inscription praising the Milesian Themison (see above) also attests to the enduring life of Timotheos’ works afterwards.

repertoire on the strings. Hence, the kitharodic selection played by Menekles<sup>57</sup> included two divergent artistic scenarios, still yet both constituent parts of the traditional poetic collection of both Crete and the whole of Greece shaped between the 4th and the 2nd centuries BC. Moreover, the performances of the ancient Cretan poets complete the palette of this ambassador's artistic display, ranging from a more general Hellenic repertoire to local poetry.

#### 4 Final Remarks

In this overview, the artistic variants falling within the attempt to comply with musical and poetic tradition share the same principle: relying on common heritage guarantees the outcome of a performance. The way musical forms and poetic contents evolve, generating the formalization of a practice, reflects something about society: recalling and transmitting the past over time pertains to communal identity. The epigraphic evidence herein analyzed shows a limited though representative segment of a long process of crystallization that spread with several nuances throughout the Hellenistic period and beyond. The areas considered tended to focus on the preservation of tradition insisting on poetry hinged upon a specific authorship and musical technicality. Metrical cadences, musical rhythms, systems of intervals and scales, proper expression and intonation were key elements of ancient music revivals, together with authors by that time considered traditional in Hellenic and local memory.

In re-performing the music and poetry of the ancients, the two pairs of siblings in Delphi, especially the one from Pheneos because they performed for educational purposes (c), deliberately carried out the task of preserving tradition, responding to the criteria of decorum and appropriateness, inasmuch as it pleased the local community. The city of Delphi charged the Samian Satyros with the same task, but from a different starting point: in his case the preservation of common knowledge was not the purpose of a display but fell into the traditional custom of the Pythian festival. We thus acknowledge a double preservation of tradition, direct and indirect, which matches the way tradition was re-performed, by *re-shaping* it through a selection of tunes or an adaptation of the musical arrangement and by *re-presenting* it as it was (or as it was meant to be) in order to put on a display.

The re-performances of Timotheos, re-shaped into a selection by Menekles and in a medley by the Milesian Themison or displayed at contests, allow us

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57 For the possibility that the genre performed by Menekles was the dithyramb, which both Timotheos and Polyidos practiced, see Ceccarelli 2013, 168.

to propose the following: extra-agonistic performances seem to be the suitable *locus* for remodeling tradition differently from the ἀγῶνες where the contest programme included original excerpts of the great tradition. Timotheos and Polyidos, representatives of the ex-musical-avant-garde, and the μύθοι ἐπιχωρίοι were the twofold content of the kitharodic entertainment set up by the ambassador Menekles in Crete: this must be read from the perspective of both localism and an ever-changing concept of tradition shifting across artistic trends. Yet Timotheos (and Polyidos) is in fact an example of prologue becoming past.

As for localism, it was the main factor determining trends in repertoires and taking an active part in their modification, depending on the spheres where tradition was re-enacted. In fact repertoires were modeled on a geographic and thematic basis: at recitals the programme was arranged to reinforce local prestige, whilst in sacred contexts repeating traditional choral songs and performing renowned excerpts of the classics somehow associated to a specific cultural environment emphasized the sense of belonging.<sup>58</sup> As for ever-changing tradition, the testimonies herein analyzed demonstrate a sense of awareness at employing and remolding themes and structures, other than “anthologizing the classics”. This highlights an osmotic communication between the two spheres of literary and epigraphic production and shows that the “process of survival” was made up by communities and *élites* in selecting and performing repertoires.<sup>59</sup>

In an illuminating work on travelling memory in the Hellenistic world, A. Chaniotis has proposed a distinction between *collective memory*, as experiences of the past shared by a community, and *cultural memory*, as a mythical or remote past whose knowledge is shared by a community.<sup>60</sup> Adapting this twofold interpretation to the artistic milieu, we suggest that the agonistic and extra-agonistic actions pursued by Straton and Satyros in Thespieae and Delphi rely upon a *collective* knowledge of skills, abilities, and proper repertoire that

58 In organizing the “playlist” of traditional repertoire on a local basis, the hometown poets were the focus of performance: τῶν ἀμῶν παλαιοὶ ποιηταί in Cretan exhibitions (see above); Thaletas, Alcman, and the unknown Dionysodotos at the Spartan Gymnopaedia (Sosib. *FGrH* 595 F *ap.* Ath. 15.678b-c; see Massaro 2018, 83, 97-102). In his insight on transmission on Hellenistic poetry, D'Alessio 2017, 245ff. brings together epigraphic testimonies, spanning from the Hellenistic to the late Imperial age, of re-performances of the classics and of the συνήθεις / παλαιοὶ ὕμνοι (*I.Stratonikeia* 1101; *I.Didyma* 217, 2nd-3rd cent. AD), especially in ritual contexts.

59 For a discussion of tradition and innovation in choral songs preserved on stone, see LeVen 2014, 283-329. On the concept of *élites* determining traditions, see also D'Alessio 2017, 257-9.

60 Chaniotis 2009a, 255-9.

both communities expected to find each time they attended the Mouseia and the Pythian festival. On the other hand, the collection of the ancient poets of Crete and the Delphic ἐπιδείξεις pleasing the god and the city pertain to a *cultural* memory rooted in a remote past that faced a crystallization.

This liquid heritage, in so far as it modulated over time and place, insisted on the structures of music and poetic narration. By means of reiterating and re-evoking them, the past became prologue and in various ways preserved and strengthened social identity.

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# Pitch Accent and Melody in Aeschylean Song

*Anna Conser*

Columbia University, New York, NY, United States

*anna.conser@gmail.com*

## Abstract

This article presents empirical evidence that pitch accents played a role in the antistrophic songs of Aeschylus' tragedies, and argues that the accentual melodies preserved in the texts can usefully contribute to our interpretation of tragic lyric. Following a general Introduction, Section 2 provides an overview of the historical principles by which pitch accent and melody are coordinated in the ancient musical documents, and considers how these principles would apply in the context of tragedy's antistrophic song. Section 3 presents the results of a computational study of pitch accent responsion across all the extant lyrics of Aeschylus, finding the overall degree of responsion to be statistically significant compared to prose and verse control groups. In Section 4, I demonstrate how the melodic traces preserved in pitch accent patterns can be meaningfully related to the lyrics they accompany, using an example from the Kommos of *Libation Bearers* (434-43).

## Keywords

Greek tragedy – Greek lyric – Aeschylus – choral song – pitch accent – strophic song – Delphic Hymns – digital humanities

## 1 Introduction

The coordination of melody and pitch accent in the ancient Greek musical documents has been recognized since the end of the nineteenth century, when the musical notation of the Delphic Hymns and Seikilos epitaph were first

published.<sup>1</sup> While the alignment of accent and melody is not consistent across the corpus, this raises a tantalizing possibility for the modern reader: would it be possible to reconstruct Greek tragedy's lost melodies from the information encoded in the pitch accents of the surviving texts? This possibility has been explored artistically in the setting of Greek texts for performance, most rigorously by academic composers such as John Franklin, Armand D'Angour, and myself.<sup>2</sup> In a philological context, however, little or no attempt has been made to apply accentual patterns in the literary interpretation of tragic lyric.<sup>3</sup> The primary difficulty has been a lack of agreement on whether melody and accent were, in fact, coordinated in tragic song.

The musical sequences of Greek tragedy are characteristically arranged in paired stanzas: each strophe is followed by an antistrophe, which precisely repeats the metrical design of the strophe. It is natural to assume that these paired stanzas were originally sung to a single shared melody, and the repetition of music appears to be affirmed by the testimony of Dionysius of Halicarnassus.<sup>4</sup> However, coordinated stanzas do not consistently respond in the placement of pitch accents. This has led to the widespread view, articulated by Egert Pöhlmann, that pitch accents could not have played a role in strophic songs.<sup>5</sup> Perhaps most influential today is M.L. West's (1992, 198f.) treatment of the subject:

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- 1 The patterns of alignment were first noted in Crusius 1893 and Monro 1894. For a complete history of the early bibliography, see Winnington-Ingram 1958; Comotti 1989, 94; Pöhlmann and West 2001 (*DAGM*), 16.
  - 2 My settings for *Herakles* (2019, New York, <https://youtu.be/gM4sYJ7hdqg>) are composed following the methodology presented here (cf. Moore 2019, Power 2020). Franklin's score for *Helen* (2018, University of Vermont), although performed in English translation, likewise features melodies based on the combined accents of the Greek stanzas (cf. Franklin 2019, with video links). His settings for *Libation Bearers* (1999, London) and *Clouds* (2000, Edinburgh) follow the accents of the strophe only (cf. Franklin 2002). D'Angour's expansion of the *Orestes* fragment and setting of Sappho's 'Brothers Song' (performed together in 2018 in Reading, <https://youtu.be/FsIZznIKQgM>) are accent-based, but do not repeat melody across responding stanzas. Also of interest is Melody Loveless' lavish score for *Trachiniae* (2016, New York, cf. Catenaccio 2016), which responds melodically while mostly respecting the accents of both stanzas.
  - 3 The role of accent in hexameter poetry has received more attention, both technical (Hagel 1994; Nagy 1996, 129–31; Nagy 2010; Abritta 2015) and interpretive (David 2006, 138–71; D'Angour 2018).
  - 4 *Comp.* 19.103. Dionysius specifies that the 'song' (μέλος) must be the same in responding strophes and antistrophes, though it is not absolutely clear that this necessitates precise melodic repetition.
  - 5 Pöhlmann 1960, 20: "Da im Griechischen die Wortakzente die Responsion nicht mitmachen, können sie bei Wiederholung der Melodie in der Vertonung nicht mehr in Erscheinung

[I]n strophic compositions, such as the majority of choral odes in tragedy, correspondence of accents and melody could only have been achieved if each strophe sung to a given melody had been so composed as to have the same pattern of word accents. So far as we can see, this was never attempted.<sup>6</sup>

More recently, Gregory Nagy (2000) has argued that accent did play a role in strophic song, and Armand D'Angour (2006, 277-83) further suggests that the disjuncture of natural and musical pronunciation was one of the innovations of the so-called New Music in the later 5th century.<sup>7</sup> Because D'Angour still holds that "it would be next to impossible to ensure tonic as well as prosodic identity" in responding stanzas (278), he proposes that earlier songs were through-composed, without melodic repetition.<sup>8</sup> Reflecting on the apparent choice between accent-alignment and melodic repetition, A.M. Dale (1948, 204) aptly observed that "it is one of the most curious and deplorable gaps in our understanding of classical lyric that we do not know which of these alternative suppositions is correct".

Rather than arguing for either alternative, the present study aims to make clear that the choice itself is unnecessary: that the songs of Greek tragedy certainly could have—and most likely *did*—align pitch accent and melody, while at the same time repeating music between strophes and antistrophes.<sup>9</sup> Section 2 provides a brief overview of the historical principles of accent-melody coordination and proposes a new methodology for interpreting accent patterns in the antistrophic lyrics of Greek tragedy.<sup>10</sup> Section 3 applies this

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treten". He later concludes (23), "In strophische Dichtung wurde der Strophe eine Melodie ohne Rücksicht auf den Wortakzent unterlegt". Cf. Pöhlmann 2018.

6 Cf. Dale 1948, 204-7; Winnington-Ingram 1958, 42; Probert 2003, 21; Probert 2006, 48. Anderson (1973, 194) raises the additional possibility that the melody was composed to match only the accents of the strophe.

7 Cf. D'Angour 2013, 206-8; Gurd 2010, 22f. Note that D'Angour relies in part on Athenaeus' testimony concerning the so-called *Alphabet Tragedy* of Callias (Ath. 448b, cf. Koller 1956, Ruijgh 2001, Thomas 2018), the relevance of which has been convincingly disputed (cf. Pöhlmann 1971, Rosen 1999).

8 Nagy (2010, 20) likewise advocates for a looser form of melodic response than is posited by West.

9 The practical possibility of composing melodies that respect the accents of responding stanzas has been demonstrated in performance by Franklin's score for *Helen* (2018) and my own setting of *Herakles* (2019), as detailed in n. 2. A number of small-scale studies have sought to identify responding accents in strophic texts, but with inconclusive results (see below, n. 28).

10 I intentionally distinguish here between the 'antistrophic' songs of tragedy, and the 'polystrophic' poetry of authors such as Pindar or Sappho, which present additional



methodology in a large-scale statistical study of the extant odes of Aeschylus, and presents a data-driven argument for the importance of accent in early tragic song. In the final section, I illustrate the value of accentual analysis in literary interpretation, taking *Libation Bearers* 434–43 as a case study. In this short stanza pair at the climax of the Kommos, the patterning of accents reveals a melody that is carefully coordinated with both meter and meaning, melodically underscoring the formal and thematic design of the ode.

## 2 Pitch Accent and Melody

As West makes clear, the case against accentual coordination in strophic song depends on a logical premise, namely that a single melody could only be coordinated with two different texts provided that the texts were identical in the placement of pitch accents. This premise, however, is mistaken, as the following sections will demonstrate. Section 2.1 provides a brief overview of the historical principles for coordinating melody and accentual intonation, demonstrating that these principles are much more flexible than the rules governing meter. Section 2.2 considers how these principles could be detected in the surviving texts of antistrophic songs.

### 2.1 *Accent and Melody in the Musical Documents*

The longest and most consistent models for accent-melody coordination in antiquity are the two Delphic Hymns, a pair of non-strophic paeans inscribed on the south wall of the Athenian Treasury in Delphi in 128/7 BC.<sup>11</sup> In these two songs, the annotated melody consistently respects the natural pronunciation of the text, according to a scheme that is found in many of the other musical documents.<sup>12</sup> The intricate coordination of melody with word accent, phrasing, and syntax is fully explored in Devine and Stephens' chapter on the

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complications. This study will consider only antistrophic song, without making larger claims about 'strophic' poetry as a single tradition.

11 DAGM no. 20 (*Delphi inv.* 517, 526, 494, 499) and 21 (*Delphi inv.* 489, 1461, 1591, 209, 212, 226, 225, 224, 215, 214). Note that the inscriptions themselves do not mark pitch accents. The observed pattern of coordination is between the annotated melody and the historical accentuation of the words, as it would be marked in modern editions using acute, grave, and circumflex accents. The transmission of historical accent-placement has depended on different forms of textual notation (cf. Probert 2003 and 2006; Laum 1928), but these shifts in notation do not affect the transmitted accentuation, which is all that is relevant to the present study.

12 Winnington-Ingram 1958; Devine and Stevens 1994, esp. 157–94; Cosgrove and Meyer 2006. See also n. 19 below.

FIGURE 1 *Hymn of Athenaïos* lns. 1-7, excerpted from *DAGM* no. 20 (p. 63)

intonation of ancient Greek accents (1994, 157-94). For the purposes of this investigation, however, I will consider only the three principles that are most broadly and consistently applied.<sup>13</sup>

By far the most consistent principle for coordinating accent and melody is the so-called 'Pitch Height' rule:

*1. Within each word the accented syllable must be sung on a note that is higher than or equal to other syllables within that same word. In the case of polysyllabic words, the melody tends to rise toward the accent, and then fall after it.*

This rule is followed in 177 of the 180 analyzable words in the Delphic Hymns,<sup>14</sup> and can easily be illustrated in the opening lines of the *Hymn of Athenaïos* (Figure 1).<sup>15</sup>

In each of the preserved words in this section, the accented syllable receives a note that is at least as high as others in the same word. In some instances, the accented syllable is on the same note as those that have preceded it (1 βαθύ-δενδρον, 3 συνόμαιμον, ὠδαῖσι, 5 Παρνασίδος, πετέρας). In others, the melody

13 Cf. Cosgrove and Meyer 2006, from which the definitions of principles have been adapted.

14 Cosgrove and Meyer 2006, 28.

15 Melodic transcription from *DAGM*. West follows Bellermand and others in approximating the absolute pitch based on the comfortable range of the baritone voice (West 1992, 273-6). Hagel (2009) shows this system to be approximately a third too high, but the difference is not relevant for the present analysis.

risers to the accent and falls again after it (4 χρυσεοκόμαν, δικόρυνβα, 6 Δελφίσιν, Κασταλίδος, 7 ἐοῦδρου). More rarely, the melody will remain on the same note after an accent (3 ἵνα).<sup>16</sup>

This principle of 'highest or equal' applies to all accents, whether acute, circumflex, or grave. Two additional principles are consistent enough to be taken into consideration, concerning the special treatment of grave and circumflex accents.

*2. If the final syllable of a word is accented with a grave, the melody does not fall after that accent, and instead rises or repeats notes until the accentual peak of the following word.*

This principle is extremely consistent across the Delphic Hymns.<sup>17</sup> In many instances, grave accents allow the words to coordinate with a melodic figure rising across multiple words. We can see this in line 4 of the *Hymn of Athenaïos*, where the annotated melody for δὲ ἀνὰ δικόρυνβα forms a single accentual arc. Within this phrase, each of the grave accents is sung on the highest melodic pitch within its individual word, but the melody continues to rise or repeat until the first non-grave accent, creating a larger melodic peak on δικόρυνβα.

The third and final principle concerns melodic rendering of circumflex accents:

*3. A long syllable accented with a circumflex is often split between two notes (a 'melism'); if this is the case, then the interval must be a descending one.*

In the *Hymn of Athenaïos*, the first surviving circumflex accent appears in line 3, where the diphthong of Φοῖβος is split between two notes, a descending melism. Across the Delphic Hymns, circumflex accents are often set to melisms, but the practice is less consistent and should therefore be considered

<sup>16</sup> The melodic fall immediately after an acute accent is rarely omitted, but I have identified five exceptions in *Athenaios* (3, 8, 17, 23, 24) and eight in *Limenios* (2, 11, 17, 18, 21, 23, 36, 37). While melodic flattening might be expected for a non-semantic word like ἵνα, most of the other examples are semantic. There are also instances where the melody descends from the accent but subsequently rises again: *Athenaios* 6, 10, 11, 21 [twice], 22, 23, 26; *Limenios* 4, 15, 18, 21, 22, 32, 33. Note that melodic fall before an accent is extremely rare: I have identified zero examples in *Athenaios* and only three in *Limenios* (2, 14 [twice], one of which is textually unclear).

<sup>17</sup> I have found only one exception in the Delphic Hymns: *Athenaios*, ln. 10, where the post-positive quality of δέξ might be understood to negate its grave accent.

a frequent embellishment, rather than a rule necessary for the coordination of melody and accent.<sup>18</sup>

Considering these three principles together, it is clear that the coordination of accent and melody in the Delphic Hymns is best described as a principle of non-contradiction: the melody must not rise or fall contrary to the natural accentuation of the words. This can be achieved with melodic movement that mirrors the accentual movement, but also by occasionally flattening the suggested movement into a monotone.

Of the extant musical documents, the Delphic Hymns are the most consistent in the coordination of accent and melody, but many others reflect these same principles to a significant degree.<sup>19</sup> It has often been noted, however, that the earliest surviving melody, a setting of several lines of Euripides' *Orestes*, frequently contradicts the accents of the lyrics.<sup>20</sup> If the melody is original (which is far from certain),<sup>21</sup> then it dates to late in the career of Euripides. Given that this is a period well-known for musical innovation, it should not be assumed that Euripides' melodic treatment of accent is representative of a

18 Across both Delphic Hymns just over half of circumflexes are set to falling melisms (54%, considering only secure readings). The percentages are also quite imbalanced between the two hymns: approximately 71% in Athenaios vs. 39% in Limenios. Aristophanes' *Frogs* (1314, 1348) associates melisms particularly with the style of Euripides, which suggests that they played a smaller role in the work of Aeschylus.

19 Melodic fragments in which Cosgrove and Meyer (2006) identify a statistically significant degree of accent-coordination include *DAGM* nos. 20-1 (Delphic Hymns; 128/7 BC), 25-31 (seven songs attributed to Mesomedes, 2nd c. AD), 38 (*P.Oxy.* 2436; satyr play?, 2nd c. AD), 39 (*P.Oslo* 1413 a, 1-15, b-f; tragedy, 1st-2nd c. AD), 40 (*P.Oslo* 1413, 15-19, g-m, fr. A; tragedy, 1st-2nd c. AD), 41 (*P.Yale* CtYBR inv. 4510; early 2nd c. AD), 42 (*P.Mich.* 2958, 1-18; 2nd c. AD), 43 (*P.Mich.* 2958 19-26; 2nd c. AD), and 50 (*P.Berlin* 6870 + 14097, 1-12; paean, 2nd-3rd c. AD).

Additionally, they note that regard for pitch accents is widely acknowledged, though not statistically provable, in *DAGM* nos. 5 (*P.Ashm.* inv. 89B/31, 33; Achilles fragment, 3rd-2nd c. BC), 6 (*P.Ashm.* inv. 89B, 29-32; citharodic nomes?, 3rd-2nd c. BC), 23 (Copenhagen inv. 14897; Seikilos Epitaph, 2nd c. AD) and 24 (Mesomedes, *Invocation of the Muse*, 2nd c. AD). Cosgrove and Meyer also demonstrate that the *contradiction* of accent in *DAGM* no. 17-18 (*P.Berlin* 6870.16-19, 23; tragedy, 2nd-3rd c. AD) is extremely statistically significant, suggesting that the composer intentionally subverted audience expectations. Contradiction of accent is largely acknowledged in *DAGM* nos. 3 (*P.Vind.* G 2315, 'Orestes Fragment', 3rd-2nd c. BC), 8 (*P.Zeno* 59533; tragedy, 3rd c. BC), 10 (*P.Vind.* G 29 825 a/b verso; satyr play?, 3rd-2nd c. AD), and 44 (*P.Oxy.* 3704; 2nd c. AD).

20 *DAGM* no. 3 (*P.Vind.* G 2315). Feaver (1960) makes a convincing argument for accent-melody coordination, especially as regards the text of the strophe.

21 The papyrus itself dates to c. 200 BC, and the annotated melody could be a Hellenistic setting of the text (cf. Henderson 1957, 337f., Fries 2008, 31).

consistent earlier tradition.<sup>22</sup> It has been observed that pitch accents are most consistently coordinated in melodies from the Hellenistic period, and especially in more conservative genres, which could suggest that accent-melody coordination is an archaizing refinement of an earlier classical practice.<sup>23</sup>

Overall, the musical documents provide a clear model for how pitch accent and melody could be coordinated, but they do not provide conclusive evidence on whether earlier tragic song ever adopted such a model. In order to answer that question, we must turn to the tragic texts themselves.

## 2.2 *Accentual Responsion in Antistrophic Song*

If the songs of earlier tragedy coordinated accent and melody, then that process would presumably have left its mark on the transmitted lyric texts of Aeschylus. The rises and falls of the natural accentual intonation would provide some information as to the shape of the original melodies, but that information would require careful interpretation. As the previous section demonstrated, the principles of coordination are remarkably flexible: they place limitations on the direction of melodic movement, when it happens, but they do not mandate movement at any given time.

In the case of through-composed songs (i.e. songs without strophic repetition), one could use the principles from the musical documents to speculatively reconstruct melodic rises and falls, based on the accents, but there is no point of comparison against which to judge whether these melodic contours were in fact used.<sup>24</sup> Antistrophic song, however, presents an opportunity to test the hypothesis of accent-melody coordination through triangulation—that is, by comparing the accentual melody of one stanza to that of another. If the texts of the strophe and antistrophe were both accentually coordinated with a shared melody, we would expect the lyrics of the two stanzas to be especially

22 This temporal limitation also applies to Dionysius' testimony (*Comp.* 11) concerning the disjuncture of accent and melody in Euripides. For Euripides' innovation in the relationship of words and melody, cf. also *Ar. Ra.* 1314 and 1348.

23 Cf. Comotti 1989, 106; Wahlström (1970, 7) writes, "It is, however, difficult to see the Alexandrians inventing a radically new technique of composition in this manner, though it would be quite typical of them to exaggerate and refine a technique already in use in Classical times".

24 While far from conclusive, one possible approach would be to look for internal repetition of accentual patterns, potentially indicating melodic parallels within the framework of a single stanza. If these were meaningfully coordinated with other aspects of the stanza's design, that would at least be suggestive.

similar in the rises and falls suggested by their natural accentual contours.<sup>25</sup> In other words, we might expect a high degree of *accentual responsion*.

It is essential to note that accentual responsion, as I am using the term, would not require that pitch accents appear on the same syllables in both stanzas.<sup>26</sup> Unlike meter, where every syllable can be analyzed as either long or short, melody is made up not of binary contrasts but of contours. For melodic purposes, each syllable is not simply 'accented' or 'unaccented', but rather naturally rising, naturally falling, or melodically neutral, depending on its position within a word or phrase. In order to determine how well two stanzas respond accentually, one must compare not the placement of individual accents, but rather the natural accentual melodies created by each of the two texts. Accentual responsion is the compatibility of the natural rises and falls—the *accentual contours*—in paired strophes.

In the musical documents, these accentual contours are often reflected in melodic rises and falls, but it is also true that any accentual contour, whether rising or falling, can be paired with a repetition of the same note. In the context of antistrophic song, this means that even when the natural accentual contours of the strophe and antistrophe disagree, that disagreement could simply reflect a repeated note in the original melody. If, for example, the first word in a given strophe is *ἐμολεν* and the first word in the responding antistrophe is *μεγάλη*, then a melody beginning with a repeated note (e.g. *b b a*) would align with both words, according to principles found in the Delphic Hymns. Taken to an extreme, this means that any pair of stanzas, no matter how different their accentual contours, could still consistently coordinate with a single shared melody—the melody would simply have to be very monotonous.<sup>27</sup>

25 Coordinating two sets of lyrics with a single melody would be simple and natural if the melody were composed first. The same is true if one stanza was formulated as a musical whole (a process matching the ancient term *μελοποιία*), and the lyrics of the second stanza were chosen to match the same melody. Coordinating melody and accent would be considerably more difficult if the poet first composed two sets of metrically-responding lyrics without a melody in mind, but there is no evidence (to my knowledge) that the process of *μελοποιία* was thus divided.

26 This is the assumption behind both of the competing views discussed in the *Introduction*.

27 While polystrophic song is outside the scope of this study, the same theory applies there. Multiple stanzas would place more demands on the accompanying melody, but perfect coordination would still be possible if the original melody was sufficiently monotonous. There is no reason to suppose, however, that musical practice was consistent across genres or even within them. Instances where responding strophes frequently disagree in their accentual contours may reflect moments where the melody either ignored accent or incorporated variations between stanzas, as discussed below.



It is clear then that perfect accentual responsion between paired strophes is not required in order for both to perfectly coordinate their accents with a single shared melody. Nevertheless, if antistrophic song did coordinate melody and pitch accent, we would expect to find a greater degree of accentual responsion in paired stanzas than would occur simply by chance. We might also expect to find meaningful patterns in how the melody implied by the accentual contours underscores the message of the lyrics. These two approaches—the first empirical and the second interpretive—will be the subject of Sections 3 and 4.

### 3 Statistical Study of Accentual Responsion in Aeschylean Song

A number of previous studies have investigated the alignment of accents in paired strophes, but all of these (to my knowledge) have been extremely limited in scope and have considered the matching placement of accents rather than the compatibility of accentual contours.<sup>28</sup> Building on this somewhat scattered history of inquiry, the following pages will present the results of a large-scale examination of accentual responsion across the extant odes of Aeschylus, applying the principles most consistently exhibited in the Delphic Hymns (see Section 2).

In measuring accentual responsion, I propose to examine the responsion of accentual contours as a percentage of total syllables, considering two categories of contour compatibility:

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28 Feaver (1960) examines the placement of accents in the first stasimon of *Orestes*, and compares his findings to the melody of the papyrus fragment. Taking a more quantitative approach, Wahlström (1970) counts the number of matched accents in several polystrophic songs of Pindar and Sappho, finding more matches than the same method produces in paired passages of Thucydides. This same counting methodology is applied by Comotti (1989), who analyzes short selections from Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, and argues for a diachronic trend of weakening accentual alignment. Landels (1999, 124–9) provides an in-depth analysis of the first stasimon of *Antigone*, written to be accessible to those without knowledge of Greek. Devine and Stephens (1994, 169f.) briefly mention statistics for accentual matches in several Euripidean passages, which they compare to a random distribution. Apparently unaware of these previous studies, Wachter (2006) examines several polystrophic songs by Lesbian poets and identifies roughly repeated accent patterns in different lines of the stanzas, independent of metrical type. Likewise working separately, Steinrück (2011) adopts an approach similar to that of Wahlström, but concludes that strophic melodies were through-composed except at key metrical moments. See also Danielewicz 1990, an examination of accent patterns in *Ar. Ra.* 1264–95.

*Compatible Syllables*: all metrical positions where the direction of melodic movement suggested by the strophe text does not contradict that of the antistrophe text. In other words, both syllables could be coordinated with a single melody according to the principles exhibited by the Delphic Hymns, without requiring a melodic compromise (i.e. repeated note).<sup>29</sup>

*Matched Accents*: a subset of Compatible Syllables, including only metrical positions where an acute or circumflex responds to another acute or circumflex.

These two metrics each provide different insights on the degree of accentual responson between paired stanzas. Compatible syllables are a more accurate indication of overall compatibility, but they are more likely to occur by chance. Matched accents, on the other hand, provide a more selective measure, by indicating only moments when both sets of lyrics suggest a melodic peak. In the following discussion, I will present statistics for both.

Even texts that have no musical relation could be expected to have some degree of accentual responson, due to the chance alignment of accentual contours. In order to determine how accentual contours might align by chance, it is first necessary to establish a baseline of chance alignment, using a control group. In the prose of Lysias' *Against Eratosthenes*, for example, the rate of matched accents between sections is 5.6%, and the rate of compatible syllables is 73.6%, providing a minimum baseline for chance alignment.<sup>30</sup> Prose, however, is a poor choice of comparison for poetic texts, because of the effect of metrical responson. Given that the placement of accents in Greek depends on the length of the final syllables, the chance compatibility of accentual contours would naturally be higher in metrically responding texts. This effect would be especially strong at the beginning and end of lines, where word breaks align.<sup>31</sup> It is not surprising, then, that the percentage of both matched accents and compatible syllables are higher between sections of iambic trimeter, at 9.7% and 76.9% respectively.<sup>32</sup> While not a precise analogue for tragic lyric, this rate

29 This includes metrical positions that pair a rise with a rise, a fall with a fall, or a word break (which is neutral) with movement in either direction.

30 Random 'stanza pairs' were created by pairing odd and even paragraphs of the first 12 sections and trimming the longer section to have the same number of syllables as the shorter. This resulted in six stanza pairs, each containing an average of 86.5 syllables.

31 This effect significantly skews the results of both Wahlström 1970 and Wachter 2000.

32 Random stanza pairs were created by pairing sequential groups of eight lines, drawn from *Antigone* 1-96 and 162-321 (Prologue and Episode 1). Resolutions were treated as a single syllable. This resulted in sixteen stanza pairs, each containing 96 syllables.

of accentual responsion provides a more reasonable approximation of what chance responsion would be, if antistrophic pairs were not coordinated with a shared melody.

To these two forms of control we can compare the percentage of matched accents and compatible syllables in Aeschylean song. The rate for both measures of responsion in these antistrophic pairs is significantly higher: 12.7% of metrical positions have matched accents, and 80.2% contain compatible syllables.<sup>33</sup> From a statistical perspective, the difference between this level of compatibility and that occurring by chance in either control group is highly significant.<sup>34</sup> Rather than being impossible, it now seems safe to assume that pitch accent played at least some role in the melodies of Aeschylean song.

These statistics can also be compared to those for the historical melodies preserved in the musical documents. If Aeschylean song consistently coordinated melody and accent, then the rate of compatible syllables could function as an index of melodic movement. Since 80% of metrical positions are compatible, only 20% of notes would have to be followed by a repeated note. In the ancient musical documents, by contrast, West (1992, 192) calculates that 22% of notes are followed by such a melodic repetition. It is therefore entirely possible that Aeschylean song could have coordinated melody and accent, while still producing melodies as lively (or more lively) than those which have survived from antiquity.

In addition to examining the overall rate of accentual responsion in Aeschylean song, we can consider patterns in the distribution of accentual responsion. Looking at the plays in chronological order, there is a slow but

33 These statistics include all antistrophic pairs from the seven complete tragedies, as printed in the most recent OCT edition (Page 1972). I have excluded precisely repeated refrains, as well as lines containing significant signs of corruption (i.e. obelized text or lacunae). In cases where metrical resolution is made clear by responsion to a single long syllable, the two shorts are considered as a single syllable. The inclusion of *Prometheus* (despite doubts as to its authenticity) only increases the overall statistics by about two tenths of a percent: if it is excluded the remaining six tragedies exhibit 12.5% matched accents, and 80.0% compatible syllables.

34 A binomial test of significance comparing the matched accents in the Aeschylean antistrophic pairs (12.7%) with those in the randomly paired iambic trimeter (9.7%) gives a P value of less than 0.0006 ( $P < 0.002$  if *Prometheus* is excluded). This means that there is less than a 6 in 10,000 chance (less than 1 in 500 with *Prometheus* excluded) that the difference in the rate of matched accents is the result of random chance. A binomial test of significance comparing compatible syllables in these same groups (80.2% in antistrophic pairs vs. 76.9% in randomly paired trimeter) gives a P value of less than 0.002 ( $P < 0.003$  with *Prometheus* excluded). Binomial tests comparing antistrophic pairs to the prose control all give P values of less than 0.0002. P values of less than 0.05 are typically considered statistically significant.

consistent increase in the rate of accentual responsion across the tragedian's career (Table 1):

TABLE 1      Accentual responsion in extant tragedies  
                         attributed to Aeschylus

	Compatible syllables	Matched accents
<i>Persae</i>	78%	12%
<i>Septem</i>	78%	10%
<i>Supplices</i>	79%	12%
<i>Agamemnon</i>	80%	13%
<i>Choephoroi</i>	83%	15%
<i>Eumenides</i>	83%	14%
<i>Prometheus</i>	84%	16%

In practical terms, this diachronic trend suggests a shift over time from more monotonous songs in the earlier tragedies toward more elaborate melodies in the later ones (from 22% repeated notes in *Persae* to a mere 16% in *Prometheus*). One could argue, alternatively, that it indicates an increase either in the coordination of accent and melody or in the strictness of melodic repetition, with the level of melodic movement remaining constant. In all three cases, however, the statistics reveal an increase over time in the percentage of passages that clearly do coordinate accents and melody, while at the same time precisely repeating a single melody. In the passages where that is not the case, what is melodically indicated by the disagreement of accents cannot be determined with certainty, except perhaps by considering the musical and semantic contexts where this occurs, as suggested below.

#### 4      Interpreting Patterns of Accentual Responsion

If the accentual contours of tragic lyrics provide some indication of the original melodic movements, then it seems natural that these melodic movements would meaningfully relate to the semantic meaning of texts that they accompany. Such coordination cannot be assessed quantitatively, and will depend instead on careful interpretation of lyric passages. The interpretive value of

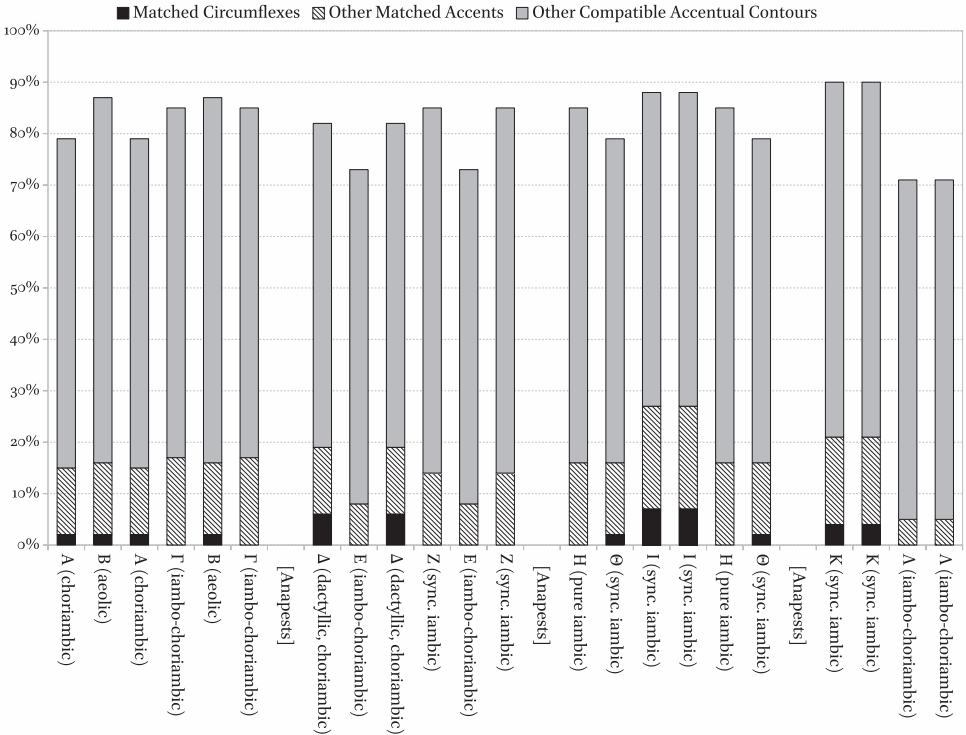


FIGURE 2 Accentual response by stanza in the Kommos of *Libation Bearers*

accentual contours remains, for the moment, experimental, but an attempt at application will illuminate both the methodology underlying the statistics of Section 3 and the potential value this methodology holds for the literary reader of tragedy.

As the most intricately patterned antistrophic ode preserved from antiquity, the Kommos of Aeschylus' *Libation Bearers* presents an especially rich opportunity to study variations of accentual response between different stanza pairs. Lamenting the death and dishonor of their father, Orestes and Electra join the chorus in entreating Agamemnon's ghost for assistance. The song structures its eleven stanza-pairs in varied interlocking and chiasmic arrangements, as illustrated in Figure 2, which graphically depicts the patterning of accentual response across the ode.

The highest degree of accentual response in the Kommos occurs in Strophe/Antistrophe  $\times$  (456-60), where only one in ten syllables calls for a repetition of the same note—half the average for melodic repetition in Aeschylus or the musical documents. Fittingly, this elaborate melodic climax

accompanies the song's metrical and structural climax. Str./Ant.  $\kappa$  comes as the fifth of five stanza pairs in iambic meters. In it, the antiphonal structure of the Kommos condenses into a tight alternation of interlocking prayers by Orestes, Electra and the Chorus. Paralleling this structural prominence, the accentual contours suggest an exceptional degree of melodic movement, which is tailored to bring out the exact prosody of the words, allowing the characters to express their agitation musically in the final stanzas of actors' song.

Str./Ant.  $\kappa$  forms a strong contrast with the song's final stanza pair, Str./Ant.  $\lambda$  (466-75), which presents the lowest degree of accentual responsion in the Kommos (71%). In the case of stanza pairs with a remarkably high degree of accentual responsion, such as Kommos  $\kappa$ , we can assume with some confidence that the shared accentual contours trace the shape of the original melody. The weak accentual responsion of Kommos  $\lambda$  is more difficult to interpret, but it could be a sign that the original melody was relatively monotonous. Because repeated notes can be coordinated with accentual movement in either direction, they would allow the poet to make different choices in formulating the lyrics of the antistrophe than were made in the lyrics of the strophe, even though both are compatible with the same melody. This lack of restriction would naturally result in a lower rate of compatible syllables, as observed in the surviving text. Alternatively, we could hypothesize that Str./Ant.  $\lambda$  did maintain a high degree of melodic movement, in which case the low level of accentual responsion would be due either to variations of melody between the stanzas, or to a decrease in attention to accentual contour.

We cannot be certain which of these three options—melodic monotony, imprecise strophic repetition, or disregard for accent—is indicated by the low accentual responsion of Str./Ant.  $\lambda$ , but the textual context provides some guidance for interpretation. In this final pair of the Kommos, the actors fall silent and the chorus shifts from direct invocation to a more generalized lamentation of the house and its fate. The meter returns to the choriambic rhythms that marked the beginning of the Kommos, and every line but the first is given a catalectic closure, slowing the pace of the song with a high proportion of long syllables. Overall, the content and meter of Str./Ant.  $\lambda$  suggest that it serves as the musical denouement of the Kommos, bringing the long and complex song-sequence to a close. A melody with a high proportion of repeated notes would complement and reinforce these other elements of Str./Ant.  $\lambda$ 's performative design, and would likewise provide a natural transition to the chanted anapests which follow (476-8). It is much less clear how such a context would be served by an exciting melody that departs from the contours



of the word accents or that adds melodic variations between the stanzas.<sup>35</sup> I would therefore suggest that the statistical contrast between Kommos  $\kappa$  and  $\lambda$  provides tentative evidence that accentual respension could serve as an index of melodic movement, though more work is undoubtedly needed.<sup>36</sup>

Just as levels of accentual respension vary across the course of a song, it is possible to find patterns of variation within individual stanza pairs. One interesting example of such patterning is Kommos  $\iota$  (434-43).

Ch. 434-438 (Kommos Str. $\iota$ ), Orestes	Ch. 439-443 (Kommos Ant. $\iota$ ), Chorus
<p>τὸ πᾶν ἀτίμως ἔρεξας, οἶμοι,  πατὴρ δ' ἀτίμως ἄρα τείσεις  ἔκατι μὲν δαιμόνων,  ἔκατι δ' ἁμᾶν χερῶν·  ἔπειτ' ἐγὼ νοσφίσας (σ') ὀλοίμαν.  Entirely dishonorably did you act, alas,  and you really will repay father's dishonor,  by the will of the gods,  by the will of my hands.  Then may I myself, after I remove you, perish.</p>	<p>ἑμασχαλίσθη δέ γ', ὥς τὸδ' εἰδῆς·  ἔπρασσε δ' ἄπερ νιν ὧδε θάπτει,  μόρον κτίσαι μωμένα  ἄφερτον αἰῶνι σῶ·  κλύεις πατρώιους δῦας ἀτίμους.  He was mutilated—so you know—and  it was done by the woman who buried him thus,  wanting to make his death  unbearable for your life.  You hear your father's dishonorable sufferings.</p>

Based on its very high degree of accentual respension (89%), this short stanza pair would have been the second most musically elaborate in the Kommos, after Str./Ant.  $\kappa$ . Like that pair, it comes at a moment where melodic prominence might be expected in terms of both song structure and lyrical expression. Str./Ant.  $\iota$  has a place of prominence at the chiasmic center of the song's

35 Garvie (1986, ad loc.) rejects the hypothesis that the strophe and antistrophe of Kommos  $\lambda$  were performed by separate choral sections, but that context would perhaps make melodic variation more likely.

36 Another example for study is the Parodos of *Agamemnon*, where two stanza pairs exhibit exceptionally high accentual respension in contexts suitable to elaborate melodic treatment. The first is Str./Ant.  $\gamma$  (86% compatible syllables, 17% matched accents), which is one of two stanza pairs establishing a lekythion theme associated with Zeus and justice throughout the *Oresteia* (Scott 1984, 22-151 *passim*). The second is the final stanza pair of the Parodos, Str./Ant.  $\zeta$  (85% compatible syllables, 19% matched accents), which responds almost perfectly in the lines recalling Iphigenia singing for her father (245-7). The accents here also indicate several potential melisms, suggesting an elaborate form of musical mimesis.

penultimate section, where it is framed by two sets of interlocking stanza pairs. For the first time in the Kommos, the strophe is immediately followed by its antistrophe, creating a sense of structural acceleration that is reinforced by the brevity of the stanzas. This musical pivot point underscores what Garvie (1986, 125) identifies as the song's narrative "centerpiece", the moment in which Orestes finally decides to kill his mother.

Looking at individual lines within Kommos ι, the accentual contours suggest musical patterns that are likewise appropriate to the lyrics they accompany. The first line of the stanza provides a useful illustration of how pitch accents can be combined and interpreted melodically. Represented in parallel, the syllables of the strophe and antistrophe can be annotated with arrows indicating melodic direction:<sup>37</sup>

	<i>Ch. 434=439</i>										
	˘	–	˘	–	˘		–	˘	–	–	(ia, cr, ba)
str:	τὸ	πᾶν	ἄ-	τί-	μῶς	ἔ-		ρε-ξας,	οἴ-	μοι,	
ant:	ἐ-	μασ-	χα-	λίσ-	θη	δέ γ',		ὥς τὸδ'	εἰ-	δῆς.	
	↗	↗	↗	↘	×	↘		=	↗	=	×

In the text of the antistrophe, ἐμασχαλίσθη calls for a long rise to the acute accent, followed by a post-accentual fall (↗↗↘). The text of the strophe accommodates this melodic figure, rising to a melodic peak on the emphatic ἀτίμῳς.<sup>38</sup> Because the fifth metrical position is followed by word end in both stanzas, the melody could rise or fall at this point (×). After another matching fall following the sixth syllable (↘), the melody must remain on the same note (=) because of contradictory accentual contours: the melodic contour of ἔρεξας should descend (or remain flat) following the acute accent, while the proclitic preposition ὥς must conform to the accentual arc of the following word. At the end of the line, the falling contour of οἴμοι in the strophe is the inverse of the

37 This notation indicates the accentual restraints on the melody, combining the accentual requirements of both strophe and antistrophe. '↗' indicates a melodic rise; '↘' indicates a melodic fall; '↘' indicates a coordinated post-accentual fall; '=' indicates a mandated melodic repetition; '★' indicates matched circumflexes, suggesting a potential melism; '×' indicates metrical positions where neither text places any restriction on melodic direction.

38 The grave accent on τὸ must be followed by a note that is the same or higher, and πᾶν, followed by word-end, places no restrictions on the melodic contour, allowing the strophe text to follow the same rising melodic figure as the antistrophe. While the circumflex accent could be expressed with a descending melism, that is not a constant in the musical documents, cf. n. 18 above.

antistrophe's εἰδῆς, suggesting that both words may have been set to a repeated note (=).<sup>39</sup>

Overall, the accentual contours suggest a melody that particularly emphasizes the words ἀτίμως ('dishonorably') and ἐμασχαλίσθη ('he was mutilated') with a melodic peak. In performance, this melodic emphasis would dramatize the strong emotion connected with each of these two words. Both words also state the theme of their respective musical sections, and ἀτίμως in particular appears to establish a thematic musical motif, as the following discussion will make clear.

The second line of the stanza precisely repeats the metrical pattern of the first (ia, cr, ba), but suggests a variation in melodic shape:

	<i>Ch. 435=440</i>										
	˘	–	˘	–	–	˘	–	˘	–	–	(ia, cr, ba)
str:	πα-τρὸς	δ'	ἀ-	τί-μω-	σιν	ᾗ-	ρα	τεί-σεις			
ant:	ἔ- πρασ-	σε	δ'	ᾗ- περ	νιν	ᾗ-	δε	θάπ-τει,			
	=	=		↗	↘	↘	x	↘★	x	↘	x

Here, conflicts of accentual contour at the beginning of the line suggest multiple repeated notes, which are followed by exceptional melodic excitement: three matching accentual falls, including a potential melism on the matched circumflex.<sup>40</sup> This line's shift from monotony to movement reverses the melodic pattern of the first line, creating a kind of melodic chiasmus. The sense of reversal is likewise mirrored in the apparent directions of melodic movement: primarily upward at the beginning of the first line, and downward at the end of the second.

In the middle of the first and second lines we have the potential for melodic parallelism, underscoring the appearance of ἀτίμως / ἀτίμωσ- in the same metrical position in the strophe. This melodic echo is admittedly natural, given the repetition of the word root and its accents, but it is also facilitated by the text of the antistrophe, which in both cases complements the same melodic figure. Taken together, the combination of melodic chiasmus and parallelism in these

39 A repeated note would perhaps be fitting here, reinforcing the rhythmic effect of the catalectic line end. It is worth noting, however, that the text of the antistrophe here is fairly corrupt, and ὡς τὸ δ' εἰδῆς is an emendation. Other textual issues do not meaningfully change the accentual contours as presented.

40 A second melism would be possible on the line's final syllable, since both syllables are diphthongs following an accent, where the melody should be falling.

lines gives the stanza's first musical section a sense of internal balance, before proceeding into a new metrical pattern in the third and fourth lines.

Before moving on, it is worth considering how this melodic patterning relates to the meaning of the lyrics. In the strophe, in particular, the combination of melodic chiasmus and parallelism is thematically suited to the sense of Orestes' address to his mother. Just as the melodic figure reverses direction, he announces that the agent of violence will now become its recipient: Clytemnestra acted (434: ἔρεξας), and now she will pay (435: τείσεις). At the same time, the parallelism of Clytemnestra's crime and her punishment is musically emphasized by the repeated musical echo on ἀτίμως and ἀτίμωςιν.

The third and fourth lines of the stanza pair form another musical unit, rhythmically identical (ia, cr) but with a variation in their suggested melodic shape:

*Ch. 436=441*

          ◡      -      ◡      -      -      ◡      -      (ia, cr)  
str: ἔ-κα- τι μὲν ὀαι-μό-νων,  
ant: μό-ρον κτί-σαι μω- μέ-να  
          ↘      ↘      ↘      ↗      ↗      ↘      ×

*Ch. 437=442*

          ◡      -      ◡      -      -      ◡      -      (ia, cr)  
str: ἔ-κα- τι ὀ' ἀ- μᾶν χε-ρῶν·  
ant: ᾗ-φερ-τον αἰ- ῶ- νι σῶ·  
          ↘      ↘      ×

At the beginning of both lines, the repetition of ἔκατι in the strophe is underscored by a parallel melodic figure, which is accommodated by the text of the antistrophe. Then, while the first line ends more simply, with a melodic rise and fall, the second offers an elaborate variation, with matched circumflexes suggesting two melisms. The increase in melodic excitement, when paired with the lyrics of the strophe, would underscore Orestes' momentous shift in focus: from divine vengeance (436: δαίμόνων) to the bodily reality of his own role in the coming murder (437: ἀμᾶν χερῶν).<sup>41</sup>

41 Here, as in the preceding lines, it is easier to identify meaningful connections to the lyrics of the strophe than those of the antistrophe, perhaps suggesting that the Chorus' lyrics were written to match the existing melody of Orestes' climactic decision.



dramatic cycle—a thematic harmony between the repetitions and reversals of his mythic narrative, and the antistrophic song he uses to express them.<sup>42</sup>

## 5 Conclusion

The preceding sections have sought through different approaches to make clear that the melodies of Aeschylean tragedy did, to some extent, coordinate accent and melody while at the same time repeating music between responding stanzas. Section 2 clarified that this is logically possible, due to the natural flexibility of the principles exhibited in the Delphic Hymns. Section 3, in turn, identified an overall tendency toward accentual respension in the extant lyrics, which strongly suggests that this possibility had a historical basis. This claim is further substantiated by the qualitative analysis of Section 4, which demonstrated that the melodies traced by pitch accents are at times integrally connected to the meter and meaning of the words they accompany. These arguments together conclusively disprove the claim that accent played no role in strophic song.

At the same time, we should be wary of drawing the opposite conclusion. While this study has demonstrated an overall trend toward the coordination of accent and melody in Aeschylean song, there is no reason to assume that this was a consistent practice across any author or genre, let alone across ‘strophic song’ as a whole. Instead, the earliest musical papyri show that the melodic treatment of accent could shift even within the course of a single song.<sup>43</sup> Rather than being a universal rule, the coordination of accent and melody is better thought of as a tool available to the poet—a compositional technique that could be employed when desired to achieve a certain musical effect.

In the surviving texts, we can occasionally see this effect at work. While low accentual respension could indicate several different styles of musical setting,

42 The unity of musical form and mythic narrative in the *Oresteia* is the subject of a larger project from which this analysis has been excerpted.

43 *DAGM* no. 9 (*P.Vind. G* 29 825 a/b recto; late 3rd c. BC) preserves lyrics and melody for what appears to be a tragic or dithyrambic composition. The lyrics are divided into two sections by what appears to be a large  $\chi$  and the annotation  $\phi\rho\upsilon\gamma\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}$  (‘in the Phrygian mode’). Pöhlmann and West observe that the first section reflects pitch accents with some regularity, whereas the second ‘Phrygian’ section does not. This provides tentative evidence that accent-melody alignment may have been stylistically associated with certain modes but not others. Even in the *Orestes* fragment, there appear to be distinct shifts in the treatment of accent (Feaver 1960, 14). See also n. 18 on inconsistencies in the Delphic Hymns.



the interaction of words and music in stanza pairs such as Kommos  $\times$  and  $\iota$  is clear: the natural intonation would be emphatically reinforced by lively melodic movement, which in turn was made more memorable through precise melodic repetition. For the interpreter, close accentual responsion therefore indicates a form of melodic highlighting: it marks parts of the original performance where the music emphasized the words. This sometimes occurs in naturally emphatic moments, as it does in the Kommos, but close accentual responsion also has the potential to raise new interpretive questions, when it is found in unexpected places.<sup>44</sup>

Because a passage with consistent accentual responsion traces the same rises and falls in two sets of lyrics, it also makes it possible to reconstruct the general contours of the original melody with a degree of confidence. Harmonic factors such as choice of mode, the size of intervals, and the use of specific pitches would admittedly play an important role in how these melodic contours were realized and perceived. Even with this limitation, however, the identification of specific melodic shapes underscoring individual words and phrases allows us to apply a basic level of musical analysis in our interpretation of these lyric texts.

As the overall statistics make clear, passages that coordinate accent and melody are not uncommon.<sup>45</sup> Rather than being completely lost, the melodies of Greek tragedy have frequently left footprints for us to follow, traced in the accents of the surviving texts. As a wider range of passages are brought into consideration, I hope that the preliminary methodology presented here will be expanded and refined, such that we can more precisely decipher how words, music and meaning worked together in the performance of tragic song.

44 One small example may be found at *Ag.* 1129, where the word λέβητος ('bathtub', 'urn') appears to have been placed at a high melodic peak, giving it a musical prominence that might not otherwise be expected, but which can be fruitfully tied to other thematic images in the *Oresteia*.

45 Tentative statistics for Sophocles indicate an even higher degree of accentual responsion than is found in Aeschylus. The full data will be released in a future publication. In the meantime, readers are encouraged to contact the author with inquiries about specific passages or plays. The software created for this study can analyze and display the combined accent patterns of *any* strophic text (including polystrophic songs), provided that resolutions are marked.

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# A Classical Athenian Grave (No 48, 470–50 BC) and Its Content from the Area between the So-Called ‘Ēriai’ Gate and the Dipylon

*The Archaeological Context*

*Antonia Kokkoliou*

Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens, Athens, Greece

*akokol\_kottaki@yahoo.gr*

## Abstract

During a rescue excavation a section of a cemetery dated between the Geometric and Hellenistic periods came to light, approximately 300 metres away from the archaeological site of the Kerameikos, along the ancient road that linked the route of the Dēmosion Sēma with the road that passed through the so-called ‘Ēriai’ Gate, and near the Sanctuary of Artemis Aristē and Callistē. Of the 91 graves that were unearthed, two are of particular interest. This paper offers an in-depth discussion of Grave 48, dated to 470–50 BC, which belongs to a boy aged between ten and thirteen years. The grave contains lekythoi, a strigil, a lyre and an *aulos*, deposited as grave goods next to his left arm. The grave goods that characterize the life of the dead are buried along with the body and symbolize their un-lived future: hence they express the unbounded grief which the death of unmarried young men inevitably causes. The paper attempts to analyse the grave goods as symbols of the life of the deceased, and interpret the presence of the lyre in children's graves.

## Keywords

Kerameikos – Ēriai Gate – Dēmosion Sēma – lyre – *aulos* – Artemis Aristē and Kallistē

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In memory of Professor Theodoros Pitsios

## 1 Introduction

The excavated plot of land under consideration is situated to the northeast of Koumoundourou Square (Eleftherias Square), and is demarcated by Peiraiōs Street in the south, Kerameikou Street in the north, Granikou Street to the northwest and Salaminos Street in the west.<sup>1</sup> (Figure 1)

During the Classical period this area expanded to just outside the fifth gate of the Themistoclean Wall, approximately 300 m northeast of the Dipylon.



FIGURE 1 Map of Athens (Judeich 1931; 1:5,000). Black indicates the site of the cemetery of Grave 48, near the Dipylon.

1 In the late 19th century, this area was considered to be privileged as it was chosen by many distinguished Athenian bourgeois as their place of residence.



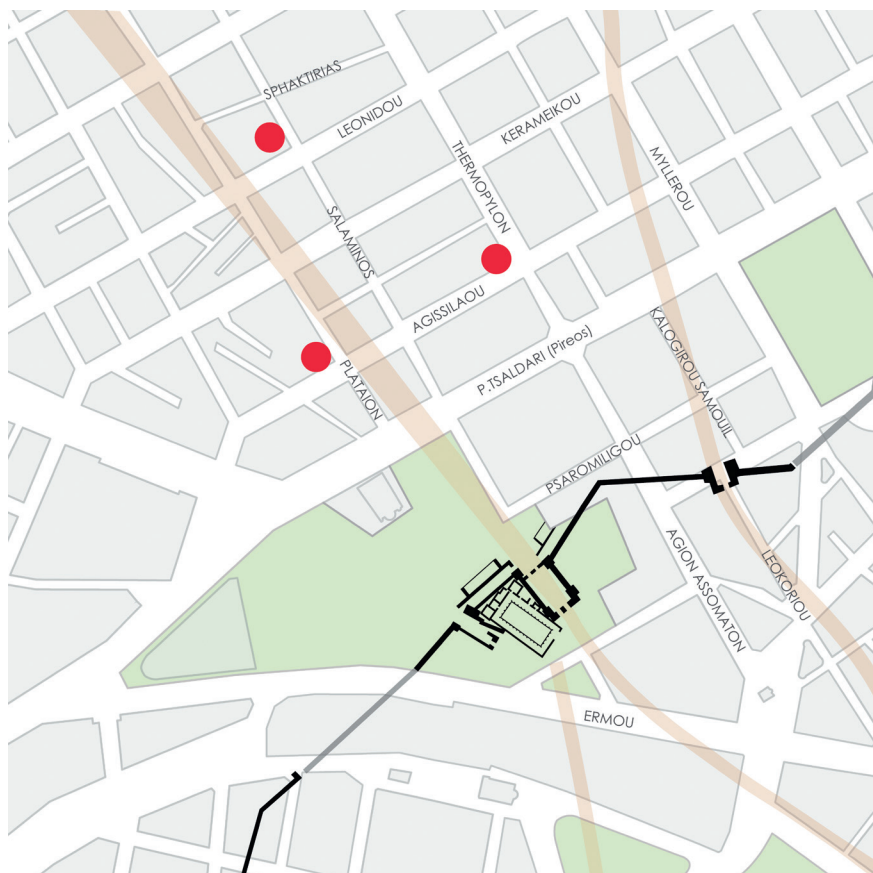


FIGURE 2 Map of the wider area between the Agora, the Academy and Hippeios Kolōnos Hill. Red marks the excavation sites, the location of the Sanctuary of Artemis Kallistē and Aristē and the Dēmosion Sēma.

This gate, which most researchers have identified with the so-called Ēriai Gate, lay near the intersection of present-day Dipylou and Leokoriou Streets. Modern-day Leokoriou Street generally preserves the layout of a section of its ancient predecessor that led to Hippeios Kolōnos, starting at the Altar of the Twelve Gods in the Ancient Agora and heading towards Hippeios Kolōnos and northwestern Attica passing through the Ēriai Gate (Figure 2).

In ancient topography the site formed part of the wider Kerameikos region (Figure 1). Pausanias (1.3.1) refers to the Kerameikos as the deme of Kerameis, or the potters' quarter, and no particular name had been used for the cemetery. The cemeteries near the Ēriai Gate, as well as the Kerameikos, stretched



along the two main thoroughfares of the city that connected the northwestern part of Athens with Mount Parnis, namely the road that passed through the Ēriai Gate<sup>2</sup> and the road that linked the Academy to the Dēmosion Sēma.<sup>3</sup> Along the road that led from the city to the Academy, which was approximately 1.400 m long, six *horoi*<sup>4</sup> (boundary markers) were brought to light that lay throughout the length of the retaining wall (starting from the northwest border of the Agora and passing through the Dipylon Gate).

### 1.1 *Topographical Observations*

The rescue excavations conducted by the Ephorate confirmed the close proximity in this part of Peiraiōs Street between the two organized cemeteries, of the Ēriai Gate and the Kerameikos, yet it remains unknown whether they were unified. The excavators of the site, D. Skilardi and G. Kavvadias,<sup>5</sup> believed that from the 8th to the 4th century BC they served as two separate burial sites divided near the present-day Thermopylon Street. The wider area of Koumoundourou Square as well as the Dipylon have functioned uninterruptedly as a burial site since the Geometric period.

This view was reconsidered by other researchers, such as Arrington,<sup>6</sup> who, in a recent study, accepts that the public cemetery surrounded the so-called Ēriai Gate at Leokoriou Street, and that this was interposed between the road

2 Cf. Skilardi 1968, 41.

3 According to Thucydides, Plato and Pausanias, the cemetery was situated within a short distance from the Dipylon (*Thriasiai* Gates), which served as the starting point for the road that led to the Academy, called Dromos—the name Dromos is first referred to in the 4th c. AD by Himerios (*Or.* 46.12–14)—or Kerameikos, as evidenced by an inscription (reference to the name of the road is made by Thuc. 6.57.1–58.1). On either side of the road stretched the Dēmosion Sēma, the public cemetery of Athens. The Dromos was used for the interment of eminent figures from the late 6th century BC, whereas the Dēmosion Sēma was possibly established from the end of 470 BC to the 4th century BC (Stoupa 1997, 52; Tsirigoti-Drakotou 2000, 87–112).

4 The Kerameikos *horoi* ('Markers of the Kerameikos') had been installed in order to demarcate the deme of Kerameis (potters' quarter). Most of these large, carefully crafted markers date from 478 BC–4th century BC. See Ritchie 1984, 199–222, 761f., 766; Lalonde 1991, 28 no. H30; Stroszeck 2003, 55; Kostaki 2006, 476f.

5 Skilardi 1968, 8–51; Kavvadias/Lagia 2009, 74f.

6 Arrington 2010, 499–539, 506–9.



FIGURE 3 Map of the wider area between the Agora, the Ēriai Gate and the Dipylon, the excavation site under consideration, the Academy and the Hippeios Kolōnos Hill  
SOURCE: TRAVLOS 1971, FIG. 417

of the Ēriai Gate<sup>7</sup> and the road of the Dromos or Dēmosion Sēma. He further suggests that it expanded along the road that started at Leokoriou Street and ended in Hippeios Kolōnos through Lenorman Street.<sup>8</sup> (Figure 3).

7 According to the thought-provoking arguments of the exceptionally interesting study by Matthaïou (1983, 7-18), the gate of the Themistoclean Wall was called Ēriai, whereas, earlier excavators had claimed that it was the gate at the intersection of Leokoriou Street that was referred to as Ēria. It is most likely, also alleged by Italian colleagues, that the gate at that spot was possibly called Hippadai.

8 Cf. Zachariadou/Kyriakou/Baziotopoulou 1985.

## 2 The Excavation at the Intersection of Thermopylon and Agisilaou Streets

In February 2007 we were fortunate to have had the opportunity to excavate a plot of land at the intersection of Thermopylon and Agisilaou Streets (Figure 4), 323 sq. m in total area, donated by I. Douroutis to the church of Saint George. The excavation unearthed a section of the ancient road<sup>9</sup> which is identified with a route that connected the road of the Dēmosion Sēma (Dipylon)<sup>10</sup> with that of the Ēriai Gate.<sup>11</sup> A low wall was discovered, which unquestionably

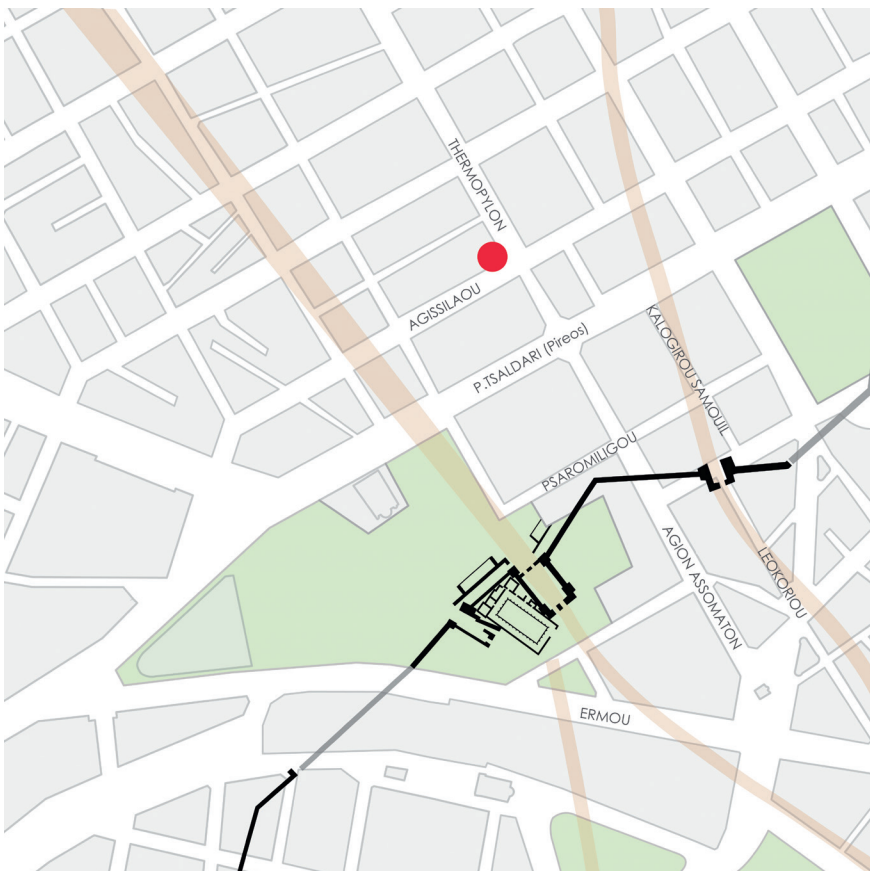


FIGURE 4 Red indicates the land plot that is within short distance of the archaeological site of the Kerameikos, the Sacred Gate, the Dipylon and the Ēriai Gate.

9 The road simultaneously connected the route that led to Kolōnos and the way towards the Academy. Cf. Alexandri 1969, 257-65.

10 Judeich 1931, 404.

11 Skilardi 1968, 8-52.

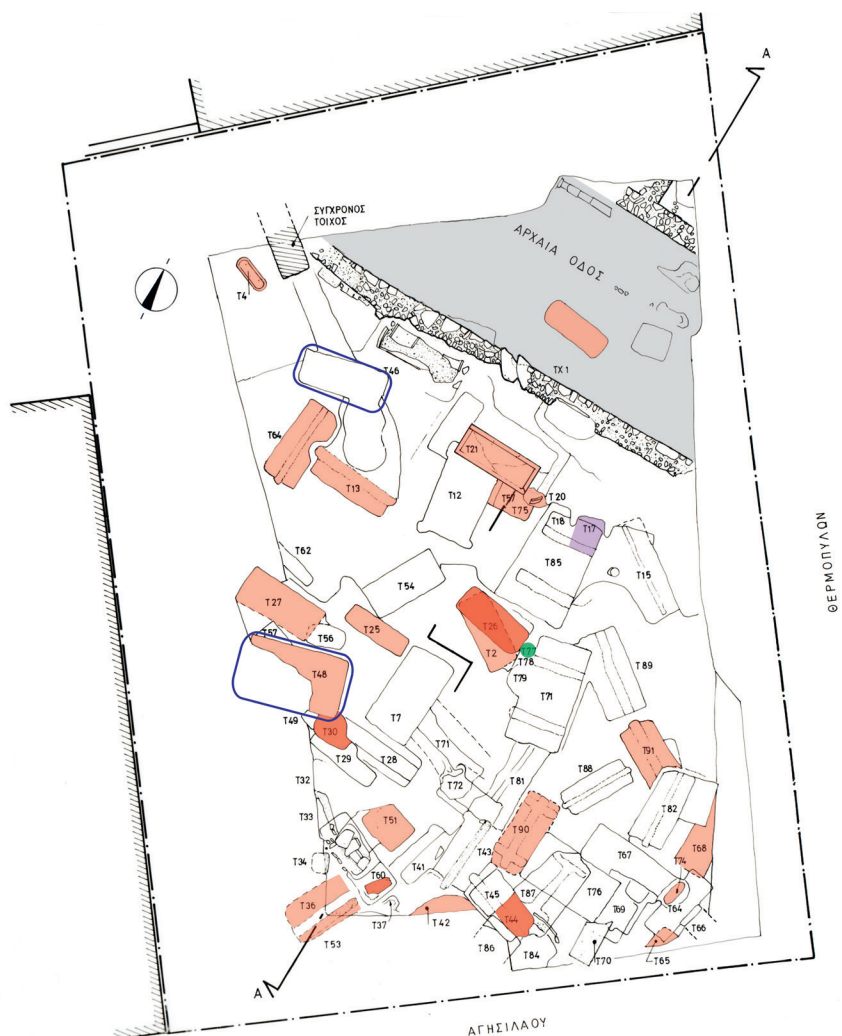


FIGURE 5 The excavation at the intersection of Thermopylon and Agisilaou Streets. General view of the excavation at the intersection of Thermopylon and Agisilaou Streets. Blue indicates the site of Grave 48.

served as the boundary of the cemetery and at the same time as a retaining wall of the road, built in around the 4th century BC, along the course of which burial pits had been dug in the past. A total of 91 graves were brought to light that offer new archaeological data and add to the historical and archaeological topography of ancient Athens an extended cemetery with a variety of burials that occurred over a long time span and a plethora of finds (see Figure 5).

Grave 48 of the Kerameikos cemetery is presented here separately due to its special and interesting finds that include an *aulos* and a lyre (see Figure 6). The





FIGURE 6 Grave 48, with grave goods found in situ

second individual Grave 63, found in the same cemetery contains a carapace and a tailpiece and was presented in the Conference organized by MOISA in 2016 at the University of Athens; it also belongs to a young person (around 10 years old), accompanied by 36 grave goods, and dates to around 475–50 BC. The first grave dates back to around the early Classical period, between 470 and 450 BC. Based on the findings of the research it can be inferred that we are dealing with a child's grave. Coincidentally, two special pit graves of the Classical period found in the same cemetery accommodating child burials are also furnished with lyres.

### 2.1 *Grave 48*

The excavation revealed burials of remarkable overlap. Grave 48 is situated within a short distance from the road under discussion and in close proximity to Grave 21 and Grave 30. It constitutes a pit burial in soft brown soil, disturbed to some extent, as it was covered by a modern larder. The grave (Figure 6) had been dug to a depth of 1.30 m and featured a flat projection on the right side approximately 10 cm wide. The maximum length of the grave at its north side is 2.00 m; it has east-west orientation while the head of the deceased was facing east.

The skull of the deceased was discovered at a depth of 1.90 m turning right in the opposite direction of the two musical instruments that had been deposited there, namely a tortoise carapace, which served as the sound box of a lyre (Figure 7) and an *aulos*. The shell of the *chelys* (χέλυσ)<sup>12</sup> was located underneath a modern larder as well as a modern foundation in direct contact with the left femur of the deceased from which a small part is missing. The instrument was positioned with the strings facing upwards. The lyre, after it was photographically documented and a drawing to scale was produced, was detached from the soil by the conservators (Figure 8) of the former 3rd Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities—now Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens—and was transferred to the conservation laboratory for treatment<sup>13</sup> (see Figure 9). The carapace was reconstructed out of 36 plates.<sup>14</sup> The fragments were preserved and put together at the laboratory of the Ephorate with the assistance

12 According to the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* the *chelys* was ‘invented’ by Hermes on Mount Kyllēnē in Arkadia; the word *chelys* means ‘tortoise’, but since it was used as the sound box of the lyre it became synonymous with the musical instrument. The lyre was usually held in the left hand.

13 The process of encasement and the detachment of the find from the earth were photographed in various stages.

14 The conservator of the Ephorate responsible for the preservation of the carapace was Ms. V. Milona (see Milona 2020).





FIGURE 7 Detail of Grave 48 in which the lyre is visible next to the left thigh



FIGURE 8 The *chelys* of Grave 48 during its unearthing and transfer to the laboratories of the Ephorate





FIGURE 9 The *chelys* before conservation

of Dr. Psaroudakēs, but were not bonded (Figures 10–11). Sections are missing mainly from the sides of the shell. The carapace measured approximately 31×21 cm. Two large holes in the carapace served for fixing the *chordotonos*. At the cervical end of the shell, a set of two holes is to be seen on either side of the longitudinal axis. These are, essentially, two pairs of similar holes symmetrically positioned in relation to each other. Evidence of iron corrosion (rust) possibly indicates areas in which the *chordotonos* (Figure 12) abutted the shell. The *chordotonos* consists of three parts (Figure 13). The elongated part is 9.354 cm long, while the lateral arm is 2.8 cm.<sup>15</sup> The diameter of the holes of the *chordotonos* is 6 mm and the interposed distance is 8.148 cm. The holes around the marginal plates of the shell are 3.4 mm in diameter. Towards the cervical end of the carapace there are 9 small holes and 6 small peripheral holes. The parts that feature holes are mainly the front and rear sections of the shell. Only five holes are preserved in the rear section. Of particular interest are the marginal and side plates of the carapace. Lyres have been unearthed during other excavations conducted by the Ephorate.<sup>16</sup>

15 The cleaning and mending of the fragments of the *chordotonos* were performed by the conservator Ms. Eleni Kouma.

16 We know that one more lyre was recovered approximately twenty years ago in the suburb of Daphnē; it was presented by E. Tolia-Lygouri and is now kept at the Archaeological Museum of Peiraias, whereas a second example was found at Kotzia Square from the cemetery of the Acharnian Gate, by Zachariadou/Kyriakou 1988, 27, and is now held at the storerooms of the Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens (Psaroudakēs /Terzis 2013, 1–124). The aforementioned lyres have been published by Psaroudakēs 2006, 59–79.



FIGURE 10 The *chelys* after reconstruction. Detail of the carapace of Grave 48



FIGURE 11 Fragments of the *chelys*





FIGURE 12 The carapace, and the reconstructed tailpiece



FIGURE 13 The *chordotonos* of the carapace of Grave 48

## 2.2 Other Archaeological Tortoise Carapaces

Carapaces serving unquestionably as sound boxes of lyres, with similar holes around the marginal plates, have been retrieved in five excavations in Greece. In 1956 a section of a tortoise carapace was recovered in a disposal pit at Argos<sup>17</sup> forming part of the sound box of a lyre that dates from the Late Archaic period. The find, inv. no. A56, is held today at the Archaeological Museum of Argos. Four holes had been drilled around the centre of the carapace. In 1957 in excavations conducted in the classical cemetery at Koutsomyta in Arta,<sup>18</sup> fifty-two fragments of a tortoise carapace were retrieved, of which twelve were bonded together, thus forming three larger parts. The total length of the shell is around

<sup>17</sup> Courbin 1980.

<sup>18</sup> Faklaris 1977, 223.

16 cm and its width 13 cm. It is kept today in the Archaeological Museum of Arta (inv. no. AE 1179) and dates back to the second half of the 5th century BC. The marginal plates of the shell feature fourteen round holes and two smaller ones (on the fragments similar holes are preserved in the same positions as those of the carapace of Grave 48). In 1976 during excavations at the temple of Apollo Epikourios at Bassai,<sup>19</sup> 9 metres away from the north side of the *krēpidōma* of the temple, a tortoise carapace was unearthed which, according to Faklaris, dates back to the first half of the 5th century BC (a similar find is also encountered in Grave 63 at the intersection of Thermopylon and Agisilaou Streets). A carapace with *aulos* and fragments of a harp were unearthed in the 'Tomb of the Poet' in the district of Daphnē near Athens.<sup>20</sup>

The lyre found in the cemetery of the Acharnian Gate,<sup>21</sup> dating back to around 450-25 BC, constitutes a parallel case. It was unearthed in an excavation which lasted from 1981 to 1986. Part of the carapace with tailpiece from Grave 63 at Agisilaou and Thermopylon Streets is missing.<sup>22</sup> Round holes are found over the whole of its surface. The total length of the shell is 20.5 cm and its width is 17.8 cm; the distance between the first two holes is 4.1 cm, while the distance between the second pair of holes is 10.5 cm. It dates back to 475-50 BC and was found in 2007.

We must not omit to mention one more carapace, found almost complete at Epizephyrioi Lokroi, of the *Testudo Marginata* species (marginated tortoise) with iron tailpiece. The find was recovered at the cemetery of Lucifero in 1916, dated to the 5th century BC, now held at the Archaeological Museum of Reggio.

A carapace from Epizephyrioi Lokroi with tailpiece that belongs to a lyre found in Grave 1143<sup>23</sup> dates to between the second and the third quarter of the 5th century BC. In the pleural plates there are four large round holes and two smaller ones, whereas eighteen holes have been opened around the margins. It has been observed that the lyre of Grave 48 and its counterpart from Epizephyrioi Lokroi bear resemblance as regards the small holes.

One more tortoise shell dated between the late 6th and the early 5th century BC (ca. 480 BC), found in 1916 at the cemetery of Tempa del Prete, Grave 21, together with an *aulos*, is now kept at the Archaeological Museum of Paestum.<sup>24</sup>

19 Faklaris 1977, 218-33.

20 Psaroudakēs 2006, 61.

21 Psaroudakēs 2006.

22 Cf. Psaroudakēs forthcoming a; Kokkoliou forthcoming.

23 Bellia 2012, 78; Bellia 2017b, 54.

24 Greco/Luppino 1999, 54-6. The *aulos* has been published by Psaroudakēs 2014, and the lyre by Psaroudakēs forthcoming b.

Leather was fixed around the lip of the carapace with the aid of a series of holes around the margins of the shell (cf. the carapaces of Arta and Epizephyrioi Lokroi, and also that of Grave 48). It was stitched onto the carapace with a thick twine.<sup>25</sup>

In excavations conducted from 1981 to 1984 at the Pantanello cemetery in Metaponto a carapace with tailpiece was unearthed in Tomb 336,<sup>26</sup> now kept at the National Archaeological Museum of Metaponto. The shell is 31 cm long and 16 cm wide and was found in the grave of a male dating to around 450 BC. A carapace with tailpiece was found in the ‘Tomb of the Musician’ at Torre di Mare in Metaponto<sup>27</sup> dated to the early 5th century BC.

In Tomb 57 of a cemetery at Via Otrando in Taranto a carapace was unearthed,<sup>28</sup> dated to the 5th century BC. It is reinforced on the edges with an iron strip fastened with rivets, probably to keep the leather secured in place (it is possible that the lyre of Grave 48 also featured a fixed strip made of perishable material). Based on the iconography, Psaroudakēs expressed the conviction that at some point in the evolution of the instrument a wooden frame was introduced, an idea first suggested by Landels in 1999.<sup>29</sup> An additional attachment had been added to the rim of the shells, involving the small holes.

### 2.3 *Conclusions*

It seems that the carapace of Grave 48 puts forward new evidence, but also raises questions regarding its construction. It could be argued that it is similar to the carapace found in Grave 57 of the cemetery at Via Otrando in Taranto<sup>30</sup> of the 5th century BC (reinforced on the edges with an iron strip, possibly to keep the leather firmly attached). However, in the case of Grave 48 the strip was probably made of perishable materials, as no metal fragments were unearthed. The lyre of Koutsomyta is a similar example. We are inclined to agree with Psaroudakēs’ reconstruction, involving a wooden frame attached to the lip of the carapace, in order for a better stretch of the skin to be achieved.

25 However, see now Psaroudakēs 2020, for a different interpretation of the peripheral holes.

26 Prohaszka 1995; Bellia 2017b, 62.

27 Nava 2004; Bellia 2010.

28 Castaldo 2010, 137–43; Bellia 2017b, 54f.

29 Psaroudakēs 2020.

30 Castaldo 2010, 137–43.



### 3 The *Aulos*

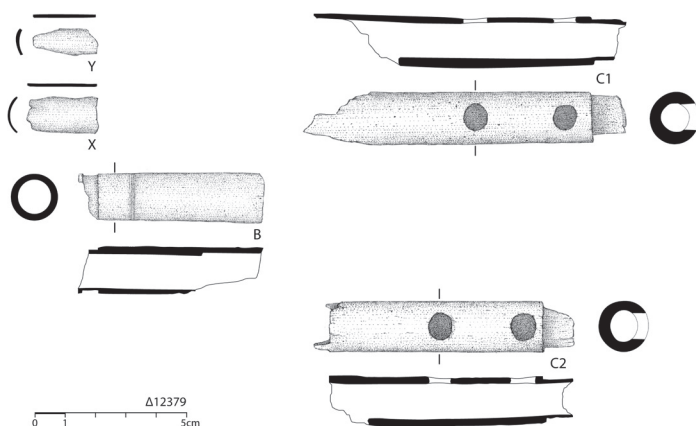
A second significant find that was recovered from the same grave comprises three parts of an *aulos* found by the left side of the skeleton, next to the left forearm.<sup>31</sup> They are preserved in relatively good condition (Figures 14-15). And they represent three cylindrical, highly burnished bone fragments of the instrument's bone pipes. The upper part of fragment 'B' does not feature any holes; it is 6.058 cm long and its outer diameter is 1.50 cm. Its inner diameter is 1.016 cm. Most of two sections that belonged to the body of the *aulos* were retrieved. Furthermore, among the bones 11 additional fragments that belonged to the *aulos* were recovered. Two sections of the body of the *aulos* are fairly well preserved, C1 and C2, the first preserving all four holes, the second only three. The largest preserved fragment of the *aulos* C1 is 10.542 cm long and 1.6 cm thick; the small piece is 6 cm long and the depth of the case is 0.924 cm, while the diameter of the spigot is 1.246 cm. The maximum preserved length of fragment C1 has an outer diameter of 1.6 cm. The second, shorter, fragment C2 has a diameter of 1.628 cm. This formed the central section of the *aulos*, with three finger holes. The holes are circular. The simplest explanation is that this was the left pipe. In addition, two small fragments that also belonged to the *aulos* were retrieved: fragment X is 2.342 cm long and has a thickness of 1 mm; fragment Y is 2.092 cm long, with a thickness of 0.834 cm. Its current state of preservation has been the result of its perishable material (bone) in conjunction with the protection that may be provided by the undisturbed environment of a pit burial.

#### 3.1 *Fragments of Auloi*

Other fragments of *auloi* have been discovered in the Corycian Cave and have been studied by Annie Bélis.<sup>32</sup> Of particular interest are the *auloi* unearthed in

31 These are fragments of an *aulos* made of bone. The *aulos* of Grave 48 consists of two cylindrical pipes of unequal length, partly preserved, and a mouthpiece in the form of a bulb is fixed to their upper part, in which the reed is inserted. In our case the mouthpiece and the reed are not preserved. The number of finger holes is not consistent, and increases following the evolution of the instrument, but the *aulos* of the Classical period usually has five finger holes, with the second from the mouthpiece, namely the one that is intended for the thumb, being at the back and frequently displaced slightly to the left or right, depending on whether the pipe is the right or the left one. Even so, apart from the length and the boring, no other analogy is necessary as regards the pipes that comprise a pair, as in the case of Grave 48, a fact that is attested by the two pairs preserved, dated to the Classical period, as well as the Pydna *aulos* (Banou 1997, 519; Psaroudakēs 2008). On the *aulos* see e.g. Bélis 1984a; Hagel 2004; Goulaki-Voutira 2012, 63.

32 Bélis 1984b.

FIGURE 14 The fragments of the *aulos*FIGURE 15 Drawing of the fragments of the *aulos* of Grave 48

the Ancient Agora of Athens,<sup>33</sup> fragment C (inv. no B1 672) from Athens dated to the mid-5th century BC,<sup>34</sup> the Brauron *aulos*, which is dated to the late 6th or early 5th century BC<sup>35</sup> as well as the *aulos* of the north cemetery of Pydna<sup>36</sup> in the Pieria Regional Unit brought to light in 1996, dated to the first half of the 4th century BC—and similarly found in a grave.<sup>37</sup> Very few of the aforementioned

33 Boulter 1953, 114, no 194, pl. 41.

34 Landels 1964.

35 Landels 1963.

36 Psaroudakēs 2008.

37 Banou 1997, 519–22; Psaroudakēs 2006.

finds are preserved intact or in almost complete form. Today, such pairs are the *aulos* of Attica from the collection of Lord Elgin, kept at the British Museum, the Louvre *aulos* dating back to the late 4th century BC,<sup>38</sup> and the earliest example of the type that was found at ancient Akanthos, another Macedonian town in Chalkidikē, now held at the Archaeological Museum of Polygyros.<sup>39</sup> Parts of *auloi* have also been recovered in Arta (ancient Ambrakia).<sup>40</sup>

In the so-called ‘Tomb of the Poet’ in the district of Daphnē near Athens, one of the two pipes of a short *aulos* came to light.<sup>41</sup> The pipe is 22.8 cm in length; its outer diameter is 1.23 cm and its inner diameter 8 mm.

Furthermore, numerous fragments of *auloi* have been recovered at various sites in Southern Italy and Sicily, in Taras and Poseidōnia. Of special interest is the *aulos* unearthed in Grave 21 at the necropolis Tempa del Prete in Poseidōnia, now at the National Archaeological Museum of Paestum (inv. no. 23068) dated to between the late 6th and the early 5th century BC.<sup>42</sup> A lyre was also exposed next to the left hand of the deceased (in Grave 48 it was found by the left forearm). The *aulos* consists of 4 parts and presents similarities with the *aulos* of Grave 48. Numerous representations of *auloi* are found in vase paintings providing invaluable assistance in our effort to reconstruct the instrument.

### 3.2 Conclusions

The early type of *aulos* unearthed in fragments in Grave 48 finds parallels in the *auloi* of Poseidōnia, Pydna, Corinth and the Acropolis.<sup>43</sup> The *aulos* was the instrument of funeral rituals, as well. An *aulos*-player accompanied the funeral lamentations.

## 4 Grave Goods of the Tomb

In addition to what has been said above concerning Grave 48, it should be noted that, aside from the musical instruments, three lekythoi were found that served as grave goods: two black-glaze aryballoid lekythoi next to the right anklebone,<sup>44</sup> one white-ground lekythos, a balm or perfume holder,<sup>45</sup> and

38 Bélis 1984a.

39 Published in part by Psaroudakēs 2006.

40 Faklaris 1977; Zachos 2003, 174f.

41 Psaroudakēs 2006, 61.

42 Bellia 2010, 103; Psaroudakēs 2014.

43 Psaroudakēs 1994.

44 Ephorate Cat. No. A2109.

45 Ephorate Cat. No. A21092.

a clay alabastron, a container for perfumes and oils (Figures 16-17), dated to between 470 and 450 BC, goods which held an autonomous semantic potential that was unencumbered by age or gender.

#### 4.1 *Strigil*

Among the finds an iron strigil (Figure 18) was recovered, mended from individual fragments found on the left side of the skeleton, next to the left forearm. Strigils are usually encountered in male or child burials from the Classical period onwards, a fact that tells us something about the *paideia* of the deceased, in letters, music and sports.<sup>46</sup> Nevertheless, it is known that the presence of a strigil does not necessarily constitute evidence of a male burial, since, the testimony of data reveals that the classification of grave goods as female or male leaves plenty of room for unexpected retrievals.

Children at the age of 6-7 years old were not using the palaestra yet. Therefore, as in the case of the grave stelae, the grave goods concern the allocation of roles in an adult society, aiming to manifest the role for which the child was intended, or represent the next stage through which the child would have gone.

#### 4.2 *Conclusion*

The combination alabastron-strigil is particularly evident in Greece and in Poseidōnia and could be related to the athletic activity undertaken when the deceased was alive. Moreover, as previously observed in Sicily, alabastera can be the unique element of the grave goods or characterize infant burials, holding an autonomous semantic potential related to the function of exotic containers. Infant burials are characterized by the same objects, proving again that the alabastron was an indicative element of the high-status of deceased individuals.<sup>47</sup>

### 5 **Music Education: Historical Information on Education**

In the 5th century BC, music education occupied a central position in school together with physical exercise.<sup>48</sup> Music schools were established in Athens

46 Cf. Kurtz/Boardman (1971, 207f.), whereas in the past, and prior to the Archaic period in particular, weapons were mainly placed in male burials.

47 Elia/Cavallo 2002, 21.

48 Music in Athens became exceptionally significant as it encapsulated what was considered in the ancient world as the best in terms of intellectualism and dexterity.



FIGURE 16 The clay alabastron from the Grave 48





FIGURES 17 Grave goods from Grave 48



FIGURE 18 The strigil of Grave 48

in the early 5th century BC. It seems that formal education was not compulsory by law; however, the instruction of wealthy young men had to incorporate *grammata* (letters), music and physical training. The musical instruments usually taught were the lyre and the *aulos*.

Children of poor families attended school for three or four years and their training involved basic education under the instruction of the *grammatistēs* (teacher of literacy). In addition to the *grammatistēs*, boys of wealthier families received education for up to ten years from the *kitharistēs* (music teacher) and the *paidotribēs* (responsible for sports training).<sup>49</sup> The education of the nobles certainly included—aside from reading and writing—music and gymnastics at the *palaistrai*.<sup>50</sup> Music was taught between the ages of thirteen and sixteen;<sup>51</sup> therefore the youth of Grave 48 must have already started learning music. The education of the young men of affluent families could last longer (e.g. Plato *Prot.* 326c; *Resp.* 518c). Douris illustrates on his kylix<sup>52</sup> the circle of formal education in Athens, known to us only by literary sources. The vase (inv. no. F 2285) is kept in a museum in Berlin and dates back to the early 5th c. BC. On side A of the kylix two pairs of teachers and students are depicted, watched over by a *paidagōgos* (pedagogue).

## 6 Artemis and Her Correlation with the Cemetery or the Threshold of the Passages

It is worth mentioning that<sup>53</sup> within a short distance of our excavation the enclosure wall of a temenos-sanctuary<sup>54</sup> dedicated to Artemis<sup>55</sup> was exposed

49 Tames 2002, 24.

50 Beck 1975, 14.

51 Goulaki-Voutira 2012, 10.

52 Pottier 1923, 108.

53 Philadelphus 1927; Travlos 1971, 301-18, Abb. 417 no. 178; Graml 2014.

54 Pausanias (1.29.2) mentions a sanctuary of Artemis Aristē and Kallistē along the route to the Academy, shortly before he describes the burials in the Dēmosion Sēma. This sanctuary was located near the intersection of Agisilaou and Plataiōn Streets. Earlier excavations conducted in 1896 at a site ca. 200 m northwest of the Dipylon Gate had exposed a paved surface, 11 m wide, as well as an inscription (reused as a drain cover) mentioning Artemis Aristē and Kallistē and dated to 235/4 (*IG* 11/2 788-789). The evidence from these two excavations shows that the sanctuary must have been in the immediate vicinity. An excavation carried out by the Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens at a plot of land on 22 Salaminos and Granikou Streets exposed a Hellenistic peribolos that is identified as the sanctuary of Aristē and Kallistē (Μπάρου 2014, 88).

55 Kostaki 2008, 145-66.



(*Kourotrophos*).<sup>56</sup> Artemis was the chthonic goddess of fertility and protector of birth and wilderness, responsible for the nurture of all youngsters. Her domains extend to remote places.<sup>57</sup> Her mission consisted of nourishing, raising and helping children in their transition from adolescence to maturity, to become complete adults and to be fully integrated into social life through initiation rituals.<sup>58</sup> Artemis was also associated with water and it is not a coincidence that the sanctuary where her cult was practiced was situated at the Dromos, a place connected to death, which was regarded as polluted,<sup>59</sup> whereas water served as a means of purification. The body is cleansed and anointed and thus becomes symbolically uncontaminated. Furthermore, Artemis cures the diseases of women and children; hence, she is also considered a healing goddess. The significance of the 'liminal space' as a threshold for the passages is subtly accentuated by the presence of Artemis, Hekate<sup>60</sup> and Hermes; and Hekate is said by Hesiod to be *kourotrophos* ('nurse of young men': Hes. *Th.* 452). On the other hand, the word *kouros* is also used in Homer to mean simply 'boy'. Therefore, for his transition to the Underworld, the boy of Grave 48 must dedicate an offering to the goddess *kourotrophos* Artemis. It should also be noted that the presence of a lyre in burials could signify a connection with the notion of purifying Music and its connection with the ritual and cultural world in Greece.

## 7 General Conclusions

The presence of two musical instruments, a lyre and an *aulos*, in Grave 48 provides evidence about the identity of the deceased. The dead, who, according to anthropologists, was between ten to twelve years as more likely appropriate for a girl while a range between ten to thirteen years old is more appropriate for a boy.<sup>61</sup> The dead is possibly a boy.

56 Numerous epithets, such as *Kallistē* (cf. Paus. 8.35.8), are used to describe the nymph. Near the sanctuaries of Artemis there are usually many torrents; also, lakes, wetlands and swamps define the landscapes of Artemis.

57 Vernant/Vidal Naquet 1974, II 42.

58 Cf. Vernant 1992, 20.

59 Cf. Parker 1983, 35.

60 Hecate is often identified with Artemis (see e.g. Hes. *Th.* 450). In the sanctuary of Hecate established at the Kerameikos during the Roman period, a votive offering with an epigram dedicated to Artemis was found; cf. Knigge 1990, 129.

61 Protopapa 2020.

The musical instruments played by young men, denotative of age and education, are symbols of recreation, and they foster a positive response to education. The presence of grave goods but also musical instruments alludes to education and physical exercise, which constituted key elements of not only Greek education but also burial practices.<sup>62</sup> A musical instrument characterizes the social class of the deceased and highlights his virtue and cultural background. In the past, scholars had attached to the stringed musical instruments symbolic significance associated with religious circles or the realm of religion.<sup>63</sup> It should also be noted that the presence of a lyre in burials could signify a connection with the notion of the purifying force of Music, and its association with ritual and the cultural domain in Greece, Southern Italy and Sicily becomes apparent in the archaeological evidence and to a lesser extent in written sources. Since the Homeric epics, music and song were associated with the notions of joy and the symposium in the afterlife. The presence of the lyre in the grave could denote or form part of the cultural accomplishment of the deceased, or perhaps serve as compensation for his inability to achieve cultural and political integration and fulfilment.<sup>64</sup>

It appears that the lyre and the *aulos*, which are discussed in relation to the other burial goods, reflect a cultural *koiné* of the upper classes.<sup>65</sup>

In the excavation at Agisilaou Street the musical instruments deposited in the grave denote that the children will never cross the predestined thresholds of social life: adolescence, adulthood, becoming husbands or fathers and, most importantly, respectable Athenian citizens. Instead, death has carried them away to some liminal place through which only one passage is possible. The son of the Athenian citizen is parted from Artemis Kourotrophos, and submits himself to an unknown, strange realm. The burial practices provided the opportunity to honour the deceased through music, expressed in lamentation *thrēnos* (funerary lament), and manifest ritualistically his transition to the Underworld, offering solace to his family. Consequently, after the demise of the child, every artefact takes on a symbolic role. At the same time, objects could also be endowed with another function: to plead with the goddesses *kourotrophoi*, associated with the passage of deceased children to the Underworld, such as Artemis Kourotrophos, whose temenos is situated within a short distance of the cemetery of Grave 48, for a favourable reception.

62 Beschi 2003, 5f.

63 Burkert 1972, 350-68.

64 Greco 1982, 56.

65 Duploux (2009, 278-92) denies the existence of an aristocratic class. It is worth remembering that for Durkheim (1922, 11) "l'éducation [...] une socialisation méthodique de la jeune génération".

Hence, the grave probably belonged to a young Athenian and, according to the archaeological evidence, dates back to around 470–50 BC, and the burial must have been prepared in great emotional distress.<sup>66</sup> For ancient Greeks music had a profound impact on the education of the soul, while physical training played a significant part in the well-being of the body.

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66 The identification of the gender of deceased children is difficult. It must be made clear that the burials in which *auloi* and lyres were deposited usually belonged to adult males.

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# A Juvenile Skeleton from a Classical Athenian Grave (No 48, 470–50 BC) Displaying Dental Developmental Abnormalities (Hypodontia)

*Anastasia-Sofia Protopapa*

National and Kapodistrian University, Medical School, Museum of Anthropology, Athens, Greece  
*anprotopapa@med.uoa.gr*

*Theodoros Pitsios*

National and Kapodistrian University, Medical School, Museum of Anthropology, Athens, Greece  
*tpitsios@med.uoa.gr*

## Abstract

We studied an immature skeleton, recovered from a Classical Athenian Grave. We employed standard anthropological methodology for skeletal age-estimation. Additionally, odontognathic components were subjected to X-ray imaging analysis. We concluded that the skeletal finds under study represent a juvenile with a biological age ranging between 10 and 13 years with multiple disturbances involving practically the entire dentition. Evidence of craniofacial/dentofacial developmental abnormalities may represent isolated conditions or may constitute part of a more complex phenotype, i.e. may represent syndromic traits. These changes may have carried an aesthetic, functional and psychosocial burden for the young patient and his or her family.

## Keywords

anthropology – dental and skeletal age estimation – X-ray analysis – Classical Athenian grave

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*in memoriam* Theodoros K. Pitsios

## 1 Introduction

The present study investigates a juvenile skeleton retrieved from a Classical Athenian grave which dates from between 470 and 450 BC and is located within the wider Kerameikos region. The recovery of special grave goods including a lyre and an *aulos* allows for the inference that this is a child's grave.

The skeleton displays striking developmental disturbances of the teeth, including congenital absence of teeth, unusual spacing of the dentition, over-retained deciduous dentition, tooth malposition, delayed tooth eruption and enamel hypoplasia.

This suite of aberrations may have resulted in both aesthetic and functional impairment in the affected juvenile relating to masticatory and articulatory aspects. Moreover, these features may have been associated with a specific craniofacial morphology or may have constituted manifestations of a more complex condition. Thus, we speculate that, according to the severity of anatomical/functional deficits, chronic psychological stressors may have been placed upon the child and his/her family.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, subjective factors and community mores may have underlined an associated psychosocial burden.<sup>2</sup>

## 2 Material and Methods

The material under study was recovered during a rescue excavation conducted by the Ephorate of the City of Athens within the wider Kerameikos region. The excavation revealed an extended cemetery lying in close proximity to the defensive enclosure of the ancient City (479 BC) with burials spanning from the Geometric to the Hellenistic period and offering a plethora and variety of finds. Thus, we have gained novel and significant data relating to the historical and archaeological topography of ancient Athens. A total of 91 graves were unearthed. Grave 48 of the Kerameikos cemetery has yielded a juvenile skeleton accompanied by lekythoi, a strigil, an *aulos* and a lyre. Morphological analysis of the remains was performed macroscopically and with the aid of a 10X handlens. Furthermore, X-ray analysis was employed selectively.

To assess the biological age of the young subject we employed methods used for age estimation in subadult skeletons.<sup>3</sup> Specifically, we assessed epiphyseal fusion in long bones of the upper and lower skeleton. Dental age

1 Dion/Berscheid/Walster 1972; Reisine/Locker 1995; Hitchcock/Harel/McAllister Byun 2015.

2 Dion/Berscheid/Walster 1972; Reisine/Locker 1995; Hitchcock/Harel/McAllister Byun 2015.

3 Bass 1987; Scheuer/Black 2004.

determination assessed tooth emergence and maturation stages of crown and root development.<sup>4</sup> We employed the chart of development of the teeth from 5 months *in utero* to 35 years from WEA (after Uberlaker) in Scheuer/Black 2004. To designate permanent dentition, we employed the FDI World Dental Federation Notation.

The skeleton is preserved to a limited extent regarding both cranial and post-cranial components and is characterized by relatively poor preservation and fragility of the osseous parts. The cranial skeleton is incomplete—however, parts of the maxilla and the mandible have been recovered; these include the right halves of the maxilla and mandible and distal (posterior) fragments of the left maxilla and mandible. Maxillary fragments comprise teeth #13(C)<sub>right</sub>, #14(PM1)<sub>right</sub>, #16(M1)<sub>right</sub>, #25(PM2)<sub>left</sub> and #26(M1)<sub>left</sub> and the alveoli for right lateral and medial incisors. Mandibular dentition includes teeth 42(T2)<sub>right</sub>, #43 (C)<sub>right</sub>, #44 (PM1)<sub>right</sub> and #46(M1)<sub>right</sub>, deciduous tooth #4(M1)<sub>right</sub> and #36 (M1)<sub>left</sub> as well as dental crypts for more anterior dentition (left).

The post-cranial skeleton includes long bone epiphyses of the upper and lower limbs as well as short, flat and irregular bone epiphyses (Figure 6).

All epiphyses are open with no signs of fusion whatsoever, thus demonstrating a definitive pre-pubertal stage of skeletal development. However, epiphyses exhibit a degree of developmental maturity (i.e. resembling those of the adult bone) suggesting the juvenile age may not be younger than 10 years of age. Thus, we propose the biological age of the skeleton to be in the interval between 10 and 13 years. Since girls enter puberty earlier than boys, the suggested biological age interval may vary according to sex (i.e. 10-12 years for a girl versus 10-13 years for a boy). Our analysis does not include determination of the sex of the subject since the physiological processes underlying sexual dimorphism are incomplete in immature skeletons, thus restricting the manifestation of morphologically differentiated skeletal features associated with biological sex. However, the definitively pre-pubertal phase indicated by epiphyseal non-fusion combined with the relatively advanced dental maturation characteristics may be more compatible with the late onset of puberty demonstrated in boys. Archaeological context data relating to educational/social activities may favor male sex assignment to the skeleton under study.<sup>5</sup>

4 Bass 1987; Scheuer/Black 2004.

5 A. Kokkoliou, personal communication.

### 3 Results

The juvenile from grave 48 exhibits an altered pattern of dentition characterized by a complex set of abnormalities. The primary disturbance is tooth agenesis (i.e., congenitally missing teeth) affecting teeth #15 and #45 (upper and lower 2nd premolars, right) and tooth #37 (lower 2nd molar, left) suggested by macroscopic examination and confirmed by radiographic examination of the maxilla and mandible (Figures 1, 2 and 3). The mandibular deciduous 1st molar (right) is retained at its original position (Figures 2 and 5).

Moreover, X-ray analysis shows partially complete tooth #47 (lower 2nd molar, right) inside the respective dental crypt, thus revealing delayed tooth eruption (Figure 2). Additionally, a radiolucent dental crypt is detected instead of tooth #35 (lower 2nd premolar, left) with no signs of tooth germ formation, suggesting arrested development (Figure 3).

Maxillary teeth exhibit abnormal spacing as well as shifting in angle from their original vertical position (tipping) (Figures 1 and 4). Specifically, teeth #13, #14 and #16 (right maxillary canine, 1st premolar and 1st molar) have drifted in

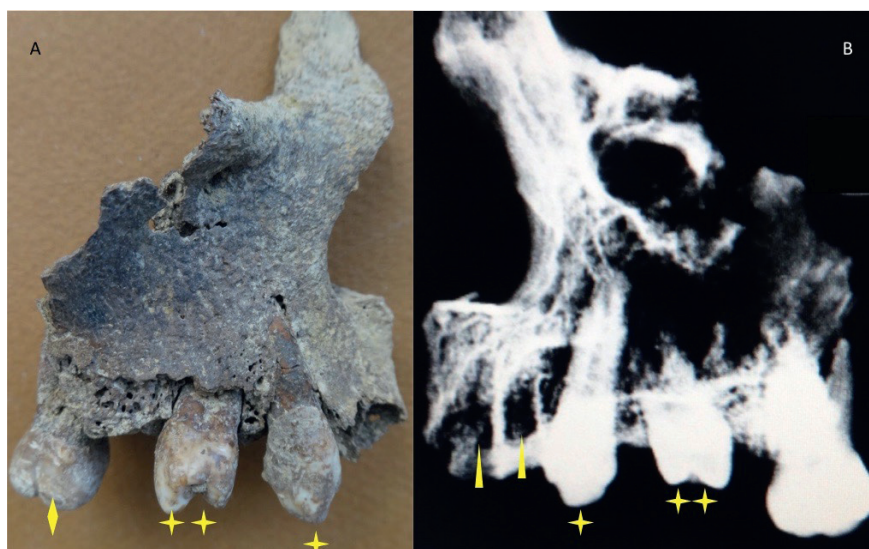


FIGURE 1 Juvenile skeleton. Maxilla, right half. Macroscopic view (A) and radiographic image (B). Permanent maxillary canine (#13) (asterisk), first pre-molar (#14) (double asterisk) and first molar (#16) (diamond) are shown. Tipping, rotation and unusual spacing between teeth are demonstrated in both (A) and (B). Arrow-heads in (B) point to the alveoli of maxillary incisors.



**FIGURE 2** Juvenile skeleton. Mandible, right half, radiographic image. The second primary molar (asterisk) is retained in position while the second premolar has failed to develop. Permanent dentition includes second incisor (#42) (arrow), canine (#43), first pre-molar (#44) and first molar (#46) (diamond) with complete root formation. The second permanent molar (#47) (arrow head) is in occlusion.



**FIGURE 3** Juvenile skeleton. Mandible, left distal fragment, radiographic image. First molar (#36) (asterisk) exhibits practically complete root formation and distal (backward) tipping. Radiographic image suggests congenital absence (agenesis) of left mandibular second molar (#37).

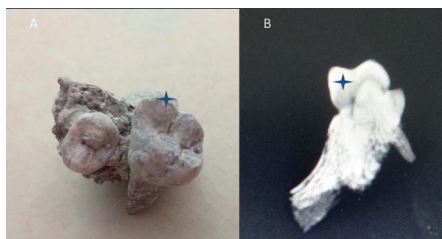


FIGURE 4

Juvenile skeleton. Maxilla – distal left fragment, macroscopic view, occlusal surface (A) and radiographic side view (B). Left maxillary permanent first molar (#26) (asterisk) and second premolar (#25) are shown. Root formation is complete. Tipped (#26) has occlusal surface facing outward (buccal tipping). Tipped (#25) has occlusal surface shifted backwards (distal tipping). Growth paths are intersecting.



FIGURE 5

Juvenile skeleton. Mandible-right half, macroscopic view. Linear enamel hypoplasia (arrows) on the anterior surface of mandibular lateral incisor (#42) (asterisk) and canine (#43) (diamond) (parallel linear grooves) is shown. Also shown is retained deciduous first molar (blue asterisk).

different degrees and are tipped in different directions (Figure 1). Teeth #25 and #26 (left maxillary 1st molar and 2nd premolar) show buccal (outward) and distal (backward) tipping respectively with longitudinal axes intersecting (Figure 3). Last, tooth #36 (left mandibular 1st molar) is distally (backwardly) tipped (Figure 2).





FIGURE 6  
Juvenile skeleton. Open  
epiphyses. Humeral (proximal),  
tibial (distal), calcaneal  
(posterior) and femoral  
(proximal), A, B and C,  
respectively.

Linear enamel hypoplasia is observed on the anterior surface of teeth #42 and #41 (right mandibular canine and lateral incisor) (Figure 4).

Summarizing, dental analysis of the skeleton under study revealed three teeth that have failed to develop (#15, #45 and #37), two teeth that have failed to erupt (#47 and #35), one primary tooth that has been retained, malposition of maxillary/mandibular teeth and marked enamel hypoplasia on the mandibular dentition.

#### 4 Discussion

The development of dentition is a fascinating process that encompasses a complex series of interactions between distinct tissues and a sequence of molecular signaling events. It is not surprising then that such a complex process is prone to disturbances and may result in tooth agenesis.<sup>6</sup>

Congenital absence of one or more teeth (excluding third molars) or dental agenesis constitutes the most prevalent craniofacial malformation in humans.<sup>7</sup>

Dental agenesis exhibits morphological and genetic heterogeneity as it can either occur as an isolated condition (classified as non-syndromic) or as part of a systemic condition (classified as syndromic).<sup>8</sup>

6 Peters/Balling 1999; Kapadia et al. 2000.

7 Haavikko 1971; Polder et al. 2004; Larmour et al. 2005; Khalaf et al. 2014.

8 Kapadia et al. 2000; De Coster et al. 2009; Ye et al. 2016.

The most commonly diagnosed non-syndromic form, hypodontia, is defined by fewer than six congenitally missing permanent teeth while the rare form, called oligodontia, is defined by more than six missing permanent teeth (excluding third molars) and is often combined with specific syndromic disorders.<sup>9</sup>

Severe dental agenesis is seen in a large number of syndromes in association with malformations of other organs, a fact reflecting the complex genetic basis of this developmental disturbance.<sup>10</sup>

On the other hand, the non-syndromic form of dental agenesis (hypodontia) can be sporadic or familial and is associated with mutations of specific genes involved in tooth development.<sup>11</sup>

In hypodontia, mandibular second premolars are the most frequently affected teeth, followed by the maxillary lateral incisors and second premolars.<sup>12</sup> That is, distinct patterns of agenesis have been detected in the permanent dentition involving the last tooth of a class (i.e., molars, premolars, incisors) to develop (I<sub>2</sub>, P<sub>2</sub>, M<sub>3</sub>), suggesting a possible link with evolutionary trends.<sup>13</sup>

Hypodontia is often associated with other oral anomalies including delayed dental maturation and disturbances regarding tooth size, position and mineralization.<sup>14</sup>

There are unavoidable clinical implications of tooth agenesis including malocclusion due to improper position of the teeth, deficient growth of the alveolar processes associated with the missing teeth and excess space within the dental arches. The availability of space results in tooth tipping and/or rotation, and in supra-eruption of the adjacent or opposing teeth.<sup>15</sup> Hypodontia is also associated with altered craniofacial growth.<sup>16</sup>

Although the genetic component is of primary importance in the manifestation of congenital tooth agenesis and is supported by epidemiological, genetic and familial studies, environmental factors appear to have a regulatory role in the number and position of missing teeth. In summary, various extrinsic components including trauma, infections (i.e. rubella) and exposure to toxins may

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- 9 Nishino et al. 1990; Khalaf et al. 2014; Vucic et al. 2016.  
10 Nishino et al. 1990; Khalaf et al. 2014; Vucic et al. 2016.  
11 Peters/Balling 1999; Kapadia et al. 2000; De Coster et al. 2009.  
12 Kapadia et al. 2000; De Coster et al. 2009.  
13 De Coster et al. 2009.  
14 Kapadia et al. 2000; De Coster et al. 2009; Dharmo et al. 2016.  
15 Kapadia et al. 2000; De Coster et al. 2009.  
16 Vucic et al. 2016; Rodrigues et al. 2019.

be implicated in the complex interactions between genetic and environmental factors during intra-uterine life and early infancy and may be included in the multifactorial aetiology underlying non-syndromic hypodontia.<sup>17</sup>

Finally, linear enamel hypoplasia may be associated with congenital absence of teeth or may be the result of distinct genetic factors and/or exposure to physiological stress including infectious, nutritional, metabolic and psychological phenomena affecting tooth development.<sup>18</sup>

The juvenile skeleton under study exhibits congenital absence of teeth along with a suite of dental abnormalities including unusual spacing of the dentition, delayed tooth eruption, tooth malposition, retained deciduous dentition and enamel hypoplasia.

These traits may be interpreted in the context of moderately severe non-syndromic hypodontia.<sup>19</sup>

Abnormal spacing between and tipping/rotation of maxillary teeth indicates failure of occlusion, the failure of opposing occlusal surfaces to meet when closing the jaws.<sup>20</sup> Additionally, an altered relationship between jaws is suggested to have been present, relating to deficient mandibular and maxillary alveolar bones while craniofacial discrepancies may have been accompanying traits.<sup>21</sup>

We propose that an altered dental-skeletal framework unavoidably imposed upon the affected juvenile, aesthetic as well as functional limitations associated with mastication and articulate pronunciation.

Although articulatory defects are likely, primarily implicating distortion of consonants, we may not speculate upon the severity of speech impairment.

As speech integrity depends upon the relation of maxilla and mandible and the coordination of multiple articulation organs (tongue lips, dentition and palate), defective dental arches and aberrant dentition may compromise sound production; however, the severity of speech impairment is directly related to the severity of structural abnormalities.

Moreover, we suggest that malposition of teeth and occlusal discrepancies had a negative impact upon masticatory performance in our juvenile. Masticatory efficacy is prominently influenced by dentition. Biting and chewing are dependent upon the contact relationship between the masticatory

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17 Kapadia et al. 2000; De Coster et al. 2009.

18 Goepferd/Flaitz 1981; Brook et al. 1997.

19 Kapadia et al. 2000; De Coster et al. 2009; Dharmo et al. 2016.

20 Kapadia et al. 2000; Peck 2016.

21 Kapadia et al. 2000; Vucic et al. 2016; Rodrigues et al. 2019.

surfaces of maxillary and the mandibular teeth. Food fragmentation depends upon total occlusal contact area and the number of teeth present.<sup>22</sup>

Summarizing, disorders of the development, eruption and position of teeth constitute a complex set of features that probably imposed an aesthetic as well as an operative burden upon the affected juvenile. The severity of structural disturbances may have been reflected in the relatively reduced masticatory and articulatory skills of our juvenile. We speculate that such difficulties may have impacted upon emotional/behavioral aspects and may have had a psychological and social bearing upon the young patient and his or her family.

We suggest that mild or moderate limitations are most probable in the context of the most common form of dental agenesis (the non-syndromic form or hypodontia) where a limited number of teeth are missing ( $n \leq 6$ ), extrapolating on contemporary epidemiological data.<sup>23</sup>

However, as we can only study the maxillary/mandibular fragments retrieved through archaeological research, we cannot exclude the possibility that hypodontia in the juvenile under study may have been more severe, involving a greater number of missing teeth. Such a case is more likely to reflect an underlying complex condition with multiple manifestations including dental abnormalities (i.e. a syndromic condition).

Aesthetic or functional deficits experienced by the youngster and associated negative feelings or behaviors may have been addressed through music making/music training and playing, as suggested by the presence of a lyre and an *aulos* in the child-grave.

Music has been shown to beneficially affect stress-related physiological and emotional processes.<sup>24</sup> Musical training in childhood has a positive impact upon developing cognitive, language and motor skills and has been shown to introduce behavioral improvements.<sup>25</sup>

## 5 Conclusion

An Athenian juvenile between 10 and 13 years of age was recovered in a child-grave within the Kerameikos region. The child displays congenitally missing teeth and a suite of aberrant traits in the present dentition.

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22 Peck 2016.

23 Nishino et al. 1990; Khalaf et al. 2014; Vucic et al. 2016.

24 Blood/Zatorre 2001.

25 Wetherick 2014; Dumont et al. 2017.

Craniofacial developmental discrepancies are suggested to have been present in association. Aetiological factors may include genetic and/or environmental components. The developmental abnormalities may have been expressed as a non-syndromic (sporadic) or syndromic condition, the former being the most probable assuming contemporary epidemiological data reflects a longstanding trend.

Anatomical abnormalities were inevitably associated with aesthetic and functional deficits in the juvenile according to severity. Although we may not speculate on the severity of operative limitations, we propose that articulatory speech disorders and reduced masticatory performance were present and may have carried a psychosocial burden for the affected juvenile and family members. The presence of musical instruments (a lyre and an aulos) among grave goods may indicate that the juvenile was involved in educational learning including musical training and play and further suggest a milieu providing social and communication skills development, psychological reinforcement and methods to ease emotional distress and decrease potential aggressive/frustrated behaviors.

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# Composition, Comparison, and Concept

## *An Object-Based Framework for the Study of Ancient Music*

*James Lloyd*

University of Reading, Reading, United Kingdom

*j.t.lloyd@reading.ac.uk*

### Abstract

While recent discussions of music archaeology have emphasised the importance of context for the study of the art and archaeology of ancient music, there has not been much theoretical engagement with the objects themselves. This paper takes recent arguments concerning two objects identified as *strobiloi* to propose an object-based framework for the study of ancient art and archaeology in relation to ancient music. Contexts are not infallible. Being mindful of composition, comparisons, and concepts (the three core elements of the proposed framework), I argue that there is, as yet, no certain artistic or archaeological evidence for interpreting objects identified as *strobiloi* as musical devices, and that the Asteas Phrynis vase cannot be used as a reliable source for organological detail.

### Keywords

Phrynis – *strobilos* – *kithara* – stylus – music – iconography – archaeology

Material evidence provides a key source for the study of ancient music, and in recent years much has been written about the methodological approach known as music archaeology.<sup>1</sup> For Van Keer, this has led to “a ‘new’ archaeology of ‘contexts’ as opposed to ‘objects’ of music in classical Greece”.<sup>2</sup> While this is an important and much needed methodological development, context alone

1 On music archaeology, or archaeomusicology, see: Psaroudakēs 2003; Both 2009; Van Keer 2010; Castaldo 2015.

2 Van Keer 2010, 230 n. 41, in reference in particular to the method of Bellia 2005, *passim*.

is not always enough to securely identify an object: the form of an object, as well as the processes used to make it, and its relation to like objects, can be just as important, as well as our conceptualisation of the artist's intentions.

This paper proposes a framework for the study of objects relating to ancient musical practises (be they the instruments themselves or pictorial scenes of musical performance) in order to better reveal the information that we might reasonably be able to extract from any given object. The potential benefits of such a framework are explored through an analysis of material relating to the famous kitharode Phrynis. I begin with material evidence relating to a device plausibly identified as a *strobilos*, before examining a famous pictorial depiction of Phrynis. In both cases, I argue that an analysis of these objects in terms of composition, comparison, and concept enables a better critique of their meaning.

In *GRMS* 6.2, Tosca Lynch, following Pöhlmann, identifies two objects excavated from Leukas as *strobiloi*.<sup>3</sup> The word *strobilos* generally means 'something which turns'.<sup>4</sup> It is only during the Muse's criticism of Phrynis in Pherecrates' *Chiron* that the word is clearly used in a musical context:

Phrynis, however, shoved in some 'twister' [*strobilos*] of his own and, bending and twisting me, destroyed me completely, having up to five *harmoniai* in twelve strings.<sup>5</sup>

This reading, "having up to five *harmoniai* in twelve strings" requires emending the manuscripts' ἐν to West's suggested εἰς.<sup>6</sup> The wider fragment shows that "shoved in" is part of an extended metaphor for the abuse of the Muse by contemporary musicians.<sup>7</sup>

3 Lynch 2018, 303ff., following Pöhlmann, 2011, 128f. See Lynch 2018, fig. 6 for illustration. Though both authors identify the objects as *strobiloi*, their interpretations of how they would have been used differ. Pöhlmann (2011, 128) suggests they are early examples of tuning pegs, turned by hand rather than with a tuning key, like Hellenistic examples. Lynch (2018, figs. 8a and 9) reconstructs the Leukas objects as pitch levers (where the 'spatula' end would have been directly applied to the string) or modulating keys (where the end would have been adjusted by hand), rather than tuning pegs.

4 Be that a whirlwind, a pine-cone, a spinning-top, a whirling dance, or a winch, all of which are given by *ThLG* and *LSJ*<sup>9</sup> s.v. στροβίλος.

5 Pherecrates, *Chiron*, fr. 155.13-15 K.-A. Transl. Lynch 2018, 326.

6 West 1992, 361. West (1992, 360) noted that "Pherecrates' lines on Phrynis are not easy to understand". For an overview of the problems and suggested readings of this passage, see Pöhlmann 2011, 129f. See also, Restani 1983, 164ff.

7 On West's emendation, Pöhlmann (2011, 130) notes that "the possible joke on δῶδεχ' ἀμυνίας = twelve *figurae* of sexual intercourse is lost". This raises the important question of whether

Lynch and Pöhlmann's identification of the Leukas objects as the type of musical 'twister' described above rests on the burial context of the first object.<sup>8</sup> It was found in a late 6th to early 5th century limestone sarcophagus which contained a child (unsexed) and the carapace of a tortoise (identified as the sound box of a *chelys* lyre).<sup>9</sup> The second object did not come from a secure context.<sup>10</sup>

Yet how certain can we be that these two bone objects are what Pherecrates calls a *strobilos*? Indeed, before Pöhlmann's 2011 article the idea that Pherecrates' use of the word *strobilos* referred to a physical object was met with firm denial.<sup>11</sup> But if the objects are not *strobiloi*, what are they?

The shape of these two objects is actually very close to that of Classical Greek bone writing styluses, insofar as they have a pointed tip, cylindrical middle, and a flat 'spatula' end.<sup>12</sup> Pöhlmann and Lynch both explain the flat end of the Leukas objects in relation to its use as a *stobilos*,<sup>13</sup> but neither address the pointed tips, a feature which does not seem to be present on surviving tuning pegs, and a feature which does not have any obvious function if the objects are reconstructed as Pöhlmann or Lynch suggest.<sup>14</sup> The pointed tips are easily explained if we interpret the Leukas objects as writing styluses. The pointed

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the Muse's account is an inherently reliable source of musicological information, coming as it does from a comedy: see Barker 2007, *passim*.

8 Though it should be noted that Lynch, 2018, 310 does not commit as to "whether or not [Phrynus' *strobilos*] should be identified exactly with the Leukas findings".

9 Archaeological Museum of Lefkada, inv. no. AE 2651. Pöhlmann 2011, 128. For the date, see Zachos 2003, 167 no. 55.

10 Archaeological Museum of Lefkada, inv. no. AE 2650. Pöhlmann 2011, 128 ("at another place in the ancient town there was found a tuning peg of the same shape, but with slightly different measurements").

11 West 1992, 360 n. 19, "[the] idea that Pherecrates is referring to some conical gadget for altering the tuning of a lyre-string is far-fetched". Referring to Düring (1945, 186ff.), West (1992, 360) translates the line as "Phrynus, hurling a kind of personal whirlwind at me".

12 It is unclear to me from the published photographs and description provided by Pöhlmann 2011, 128 ("the flattened head of the peg") whether or not the head tapers down to an edge, as is seen with some styluses, but Vivian Staikou, Curator at the Archaeological Museum of Lefkada, has informed me that they have 'spatula' ends (private communication, 27.10.18). This feature is typical of styluses whose erasers are either 'spatulas', or 'rounded'.

13 See above, n. 3. If this end was supposed to be held and twisted, it seems odd that it flattens to a 'spatula', which might not be as easy to grip as a purely rectangular end.

14 Pöhlmann (2011, 128) is incorrect to say that "the only difference is that all Hellenistic and later tuning pegs require a tuning key, while the Leukas tuning pegs are suited to be turned by the fingers".

end of a stylus was used to incise the wax surface of a writing-tablet, while the flat end was used to smooth over the wax for reuse or to correct mistakes.<sup>15</sup>

There is also another feature common to the two Leukas objects that needs to be considered: what Lynch calls the “two protruding spikes/prongs” which directly precede the ‘spatula’ end. For Lynch, these cylindrical protrusions could have facilitated their use as levers or modulating keys, but only the second object has obviously cylindrical protrusions.<sup>16</sup> When compared to surviving Classical bone styluses, the protruding elements on the Leukas objects are, I suggest, best explained as decorative elements.<sup>17</sup>

The best comparanda here are the bone styluses excavated by the ASCSA in or near the Athenian Agora, of which six were found together in a rectangular rock-cut shaft,<sup>18</sup> with another two coming from the bottom of a well.<sup>19</sup>

The closest parallel is Agora Object B1 69 which can be roughly dated to ca. 480 BC, and, like the Leukas objects, predates the start of Phrynīs’ career (and thus his use of the *strobilos*), here by about 30 years.<sup>20</sup> It is of a similar size to the objects from Leukas, and the general shape of its spatula is close too, but more elongated.<sup>21</sup> B1 69 also has two notches before the eraser or flat end, though here they are square rather than cylindrical, as on the Leukas objects (see figure 1).

The Leukas objects are also comparable to the stylus B1 404 (L. 12.7cm, max. W. 1.3cm), which roughly dates to the later fifth century BC (see figure 2).<sup>22</sup>

15 Terpstra 2014, 100, and fig. 6, with bibliography.

16 Lynch 2018, 304-6, and fig. 8a, in interpreting the two objects as pitch levers.

17 See Lynch 2018, fig. 8a for a reconstruction of the Lefkas objects as levers, and fig. 9 for a reconstruction of the Lefkas objects as modulating keys.

18 On the shaft see Vanderpool 1946, *passim*.

19 Corbett 1949, *passim*.

20 For the date of B1 69, see Vanderpool 1946, *passim*. On the date of Phrynīs, Cf. *schol. Ar. Nu.* 971 ὁ Φρύνις κιθαρωδὸς Μιτυληναῖος. οὗτος δὲ δοκεῖ πρῶτος παρ’ Ἀθηναίοις κιθαρωδικῇ νικῆσαι Παναθήναια ἐπὶ Καλλιμάχου (Meyer: Καλλίου codd.) ἄρχοντος. Davison (1958, 40f.) explores the difficulties of this scholion in detail, and agrees with Meyer’s emendation, since Kallias was not known to have been archon during a Greater Panathenaic year, while Kallimachos was, in 446/5 BC. I date the start of Phrynīs’ career in Athens to ca. 450 BC. See West 1992, 360 for “(probably) 466” and Campbell 1992, Phrynīs *test.* 2. Asteas’ Phrynīs vase might also suggest a date around 450 BC because the Athenian general Myronides (nicknamed Pyronides) who drags Phrynīs offstage was particularly successful (and thus open to parody) during the 450s too (if we accept this identification). See also Taplin 1993, 42.

21 B1 69: L. 7.9cm, max.W. 1cm. Nr. AE 2650: shaft L. 7.2cm, W. 0.4cm; ‘flattened head’ L. 2.5cm, W. 1.0cm. Nr. AE 2651: shaft 7.5cm, 0.5cm; ‘flattened head’ L. 2.0cm, W. 1.4cm.

22 Even though this stylus was found at the very bottom of the well deposit (17.8-0.5 m), it seems that the material in the well was deposited at the same time. This means that we can only very roughly date B1 404 to the later fifth century BC, because the majority of



FIGURE 1 The six styluses from the rectangular rock-cut shaft by the Athenian Agora. BI 69 is the third from the left.

SOURCE: AGORA IMAGE: 2012.51.0910 (XXIV-47)



FIGURE 2 Three styluses from a well in the Athenian Agora. BI 404 is the third from the top.

SOURCE: AGORA IMAGE: 2012.52.0922 (XXXIX-51)



BI 404 has an eraser which is more elongated than either of the Leukas objects or BI 69, the 'notches' are more obviously decorative, forming a raised arrow-head shape, but a general similarity between the three can still be observed. They have similar cylindrical bodies and pointed tips, as well as spatula like ends preceded by detailed notches.

Despite their morphological similarity to surviving Classical Greek bone styluses, that one of the Leukas objects was found in a sarcophagus with a tortoise carapace (the sound box of a lyre) seems to quite securely suggest that it was somehow connected to the lyre.

However, since the child in the Leukas sarcophagus was buried with a musical instrument it is not unreasonable that they would have been buried with other funerary goods too. This is exactly what we find in the Daphne Tomb 2 burial, where our interpretation of the grave goods, which include musical instruments and writing paraphernalia (including wax writing tablets and a bronze stylus), influences our interpretation of the deceased's profession.<sup>23</sup>

It is then possible that the two objects from Leukas, which have recently been identified as *strobiloi*, have nothing to do with stringed instruments, despite it at first appearing that they might.<sup>24</sup> Indeed, we should note not only their similarity to surviving bone styluses, but their similarity to a number of styluses depicted in Attic red figure pottery too.<sup>25</sup>

In addition to what we might term material or archaeological evidence, iconographical evidence provides a key source of information for ancient music. Again, contextual analysis of iconography is important but so too is scrutiny of the iconography itself. Thus, it is surprising that wider artistic considerations are not regularly taken into account during studies of ancient

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figured pottery in the well was dated ca. 425-400 BC. On the deposit, see Corbett 1949, *passim*. On the stylus, see also Schaltenbrandt Obrecht 2012, 54 fig. 45 (right).

23 See Pöhlmann and West 2012, 2 and Lygouri-Tolia 2014, 19-21.

24 A paper entitled "A Child's Lyre from a Classical Athenian Grave/Eriai Gates Grave 63", given by S. Psaroudakēs during the 9th MOISA conference in Athens, touched upon issues relevant to this paper, in particular the identification of 'needle-like' objects inside Grave 63, and will be published in the forthcoming proceedings of that conference.

25 E.g. 1) Attic red-figure cup fragment, attributed to Douris, first quarter of the fifth century BC. Tübingen, Eberhard-Karls-Univ., Arch. Inst.: S10.1536B; 2) Attic red-figure cup fragment, attributed to the Ashby Painter, first quarter of the fifth century BC. Paris, Cabinet des Médailles: 525; 3) Attic red-figure cup, attributed to the Cage Painter, first quarter of the fifth century. London, British Museum: 1901.5-14.1; 4) Attic red-figure cup, attributed to the Painter of Bologna 417, ca. 460-450 BC. New York, Metropolitan Museum, 06.1021.167; 5) Attic red-figure stemless cup, attributed to the Painter of Ruvo 1346, ca. 430 BC. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College: 103.25; 6) South Italian, Paestan, red-figure bell krater, second half of the fourth century BC. St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum: 1777.

Greek musical iconography, particularly when iconography is used to inform organological debates.<sup>26</sup>

Taking the representation of Phrynis and the *strobilos* as a case-study, I suggest three key approaches for the study of musical iconography. They are by no means the only approaches; in fact, they are perhaps the most basic.

The first approach is a deconstruction of the creation of a pictorial scene or object: how did the artist create it, how was it composed? The second approach is comparative: firstly, comparing a scene to the wider work of its artist, secondly, comparing a scene to like scenes by different artists. The third is conceptual.

To demonstrate the usefulness of these approaches, I will apply them to a re-examination of the famous Paestan vase attributed to Asteas, ca. 350 BC, which shows Phrynis being dragged offstage stage by the nicknamed Athenian general 'Pyronides'.<sup>27</sup>

The Asteas Phrynis vase is often interpreted as showing a play that was set, if not originally performed, in Athens ca. 450 BC, and which was re-performed or otherwise still popular about 100 years later in the South Italian Greek settlement of Paestum, where the vase was made and found.<sup>28</sup>

It is unlikely that the scene comes from Pherecrates' *Chiron*, since, as far as we are aware, neither Phrynis nor Pyronides were characters in that play. Indeed, the ridicule of the New Musicians was a popular theme among the Athenian comedians, as Ps.-Plutarch (*Mus.* 1142a) says: 'other comic playwrights too have put on display the strangeness of those who chopped music up in these ways'.<sup>29</sup>

26 For example, Hagel (2010 88f.), which relies on calculating the length of strings based on vase paintings, and Hagel (2010, 328ff.): "for the earlier times, we must therefore resort to the iconography also, mainly from vase paintings, even if this is the least trustworthy kind of source as regards details of playing. Yet since we found the evidence for lyre string lengths quite consistent, there is hope of assessing at least the most general relations of instrument size, estimated against the players' forearms". See Sarti (2003, 56), for the difficulty of using visual evidence for organological details. This is a problem shared with other disciplines. Cf. Ulieriu-Rostás (2013, 15), referring to Emanuel Winternitz's criticisms of studies on Medieval and Renaissance musical iconography (cf. Winternitz 1979, 31). Take also, Lawergren (1985, 32f.), where the suggestion is made (and ultimately rejected) that a number of cylindrical elements on depictions of *phorminges* (what Lawergren calls 'cylinder kitharas') might have been used to facilitate adjusting the pitch of the strings.

27 See Lynch 2018, fig.8b and 8c for illustration of the vase, including detail of the *kithara*.

28 Taplin (1993, 42) calls this vase "one of the strongest candidates for an Athenian comedy [on South Italian vases]". It is possible that it represents a scene from Eupolis' *Demoi*, but this cannot be certain: see Kovacs 2013, 489 n.34.

29 Transl. Lynch 2018. The only other surviving comedy to lampoon Phrynis, albeit briefly, is Ar. *Nu.* 969ff.

Nevertheless, it is likely that the ancient viewer of this vase would have known the play to which Asteas alluded, and this places us, as modern viewers, at a disadvantage.

## 1 Composition

Lynch has recently argued that a mark on the middle string of Phrynis' *kithara*, and to which his index figure seems to point, might be Asteas' attempt to depict a *strobilos*:

pictorial constraints aside, its shape is rather similar to that of the Leukas findings, and most importantly, it appears exactly where we would expect it to be: right at the centre of the lyre *harmonia*, breaking it visually into two and representing the main target of Pyronides' anger, as well as the central focus of the scene as a whole. In fact both Pyronides and Phrynis are staring at it, inviting us to do the same.<sup>30</sup>

It is true that we cannot expect ancient artists (or artists of any period) to aim for realism, but to me, the mark looks like a small chip on the vase which has exposed the clay beneath (hence its colour), rather than a deliberate detail drawn by Asteas.<sup>31</sup> As such, I would favour the traditional interpretation of this scene, one of conflict between Phrynis and Pyronides. The actors do not fixate on a *strobilos*, but each other.<sup>32</sup>

Looking at the whole of the vase, similar chips and general wearing of slip can be seen all over, revealing a pockmarking of terracotta beneath the applied black. There also seems to be no 'contouring' around the mark Lynch interprets as a *strobilos*, which, if it had been left reserved, we would expect to find, revealing the painter's outline in black slip, to be later filled in.<sup>33</sup> Indeed, this 'contouring' can be observed as an outline around Phrynis' fingers. In this

30 Lynch 2018, 308.

31 Lynch 2018, 306: "marked in a different colour from the rest of the instrument, this device is clearly distinguished from the yoke as well as the half-rings that hold the strings".

32 For a similar scene, where an older man drags a younger man off stage: South Italian, Paestan red-figure bell krater, attributed to Python, ca. 360-320 BC. London, British Museum, 1873,0820.347.

33 This technique is best illustrated by the unfinished side of the Pan Painter's Busiris vase: Athens, National Archaeological Museum, CC1175. On the style of Pan Painter more generally, see Smith 2006.

case, perhaps it is just chance that Phrynis' finger seems to point towards this particular chip, and that the chip falls over a string.<sup>34</sup>

## 2 Comparison

The case that this is a chip or similar can be made more clearly when we examine Asteas' style more generally.<sup>35</sup> First is the colour of the mark. Lynch notes that it is "in a different colour from the rest of the instrument [...] clearly distinguished from the yoke as well as the half-rings that hold the strings in place".<sup>36</sup> However, it would actually be rather unusual for Asteas to 'add' a detail in the reserved terracotta.<sup>37</sup> The whole of the Phrynis' *kithara* is depicted in white for the main body, yellow-gold for fine details, like the yoke and strings, and red for the cloth-band wrapped around it, the plectrum, Pyronides' stick, and other details.<sup>38</sup> Compare the lyre and plectrum of a Papisilenus on a similar vase attributed to Python in the Ure Museum of Greek Archaeology, where the body of the lyre is in yellow-gold, the strings are white, and the cloth-band red with white spots (see figure 3).<sup>39</sup>

This lack of terracotta as a colour for detail, either reserved or added, can be observed in various other vases by, attributed to, or close to Asteas, who revels in the use of polychromatic slips.<sup>40</sup>

Additionally, the mark seems to cut through the strings, themselves added in yellow-white over the initial layer of black slip that had been applied. If this was an area of the vase the painter had wanted to leave as reserved terracotta, we would not expect it to cut through the added yellow-white of the strings. As such, I think it more likely that this mark is not a *strobilos*, but one of many similar pockmarks, scuffs, and scratches that can be seen all over the vase.<sup>41</sup>

34 Lynch 2018, fig. 8B-C.

35 Many thanks to Dr. Katerina Volioti for helping to clarify some of these points.

36 Lynch 2018, 306f.

37 This colour is simply the un-slipped colour of the fired clay.

38 Compare the lyre and plectrum of a Papisilenus on a vase attributed to Python in the Ure Museum of Greek Archaeology. Reading, Ure Museum, 51.7.11. Paestan red-figure bell krater, ca. 360-340 BC, attributed to Python.

39 Reading, Ure Museum, 51.7.11. Paestan red-figure bell krater, ca. 360-340 BC, attributed to Python. The arms and yoke of the lyre appear predominantly white, but this seems to be a layer or slip applied underneath the yellow-gold (which has worn away).

40 For example, London, British Museum 1772,0320.661 and 1865,0103.27; Getty Museum 80.AE.155 (close to Asteas).

41 See Lynch 2018, fig. 8b for these details on the Phrynis vase, as well as a detailed view of the 'mark', and the general pockmarking of the pot.



FIGURE 3  
Detail of a lyre depicted in polychrome.  
Reading, Ure Museum, 51.7.11. Paestan  
red-figure bell krater, ca. 360–340 BC,  
attributed to Python

Of note here is that the Asteas Phrynis vase is not the only pictorial representation of Phrynis from South Italy. An Apulian red-figure bell krater in the Budapest Museum of Fine Arts (97.1.A), attributed to the Winterhur Group and dating to ca. 350–330 BC (so roughly contemporary with Asteas' vase), depicts on one side the head and *kithara* of a comic actor dressed as Phrynis.<sup>42</sup> On this vase, Phrynis' *kithara* has five strings and is surreptitiously added, jutting out in front of Phrynis.<sup>43</sup> It seems that the painter had originally left no specific space for it. The *kithara* is superimposed over the volute-like decoration at left. To me, this *kithara* appears as an afterthought, added by the painter so that there was no confusion as to who this Phrynis was (and what it was they did). The *kithara* is not to scale, it is not held by Phrynis, but easily identifiable as a key attribute (see figure 4).

42 Kápáti 2013, *passim*. Described as a “male head in profile, wearing a laurel wreath (in added white) and comic mask, to left with inscription ΦΡΥΝΙΣ and *kithara*, both in added white”. The other side of the vase depicts: “Female head in profile, wearing a comic mask (type RR), to left” (32).

43 The number of strings depicted in ancient representations of lyres and kitharas, and the extent to which they relate to any lived actuality is a constant source of frustration, and ultimately needs to be taken on a case by case basis, but even here we run the risk of creating ‘false positives’.



FIGURE 4 A comic actor as Phrynus, the name is painted in front of his face but has faded, the *kithara* is also added in white. Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts, 97.1.A. Apulian red-figure bell krater, ca. 350-330 BC, attributed to the Winterthur Group

We could view Phrynus' *kithara* in the Asteas vase in a similar way, with its seven strings (not twelve, as in the Pherecrates passage), representing a stage prop (literally or figuratively) and doubling as an object of visual redundancy alongside the inscriptions to help the viewer identify Phrynus as the famous New Musician.<sup>44</sup> The artists in both of these cases need not have been interested (or perhaps did not know) that Phrynus' *kithara* was particularly famous

44 On the use of visual redundancy in Greek vase painting see Steiner 2007, 11f., and 103-19. 'Redundancy' is here defined by Steiner (2007, 15) as "repetition created to provide alternative functional channels in case of failure; repetition of parts or all of a message to circumvent possible transmission errors". For the use of prop instruments, see the vase commonly known as 'The Bari Pipers', attributed to the Suckling-Salting group, ca. 365-350 BC. See Taplin (1993, 70ff.) for the interpretation of this scene as showing actors 'playing at playing the pipes', while the 'official' *aulos*-player hides at the side of the



for being twelve-stringed, or, as far as the Pherecrates passage goes, for having a *strobilos*.

### 3 Concept

Both of these vases show what Walsh has termed ‘distorted ideals’.<sup>45</sup> In the case of the Asteas vase, the scene is a depiction of a Phlyax play, a burlesque, or a South Italian revue of an Athenian comedy, and Asteas is a painter who tends to delight in the slightly absurd and amusing.<sup>46</sup> These elements can be seen in the phallic costumes of the two actors, as well as the exaggeratedly ‘grotesque’ masks they wear.<sup>47</sup> While Phrynus is dragged off by the Athenian general, it is possible that both were targets of ridicule here. Indeed, Asteas created a number of scenes notable for their ridicule of the traditionally ‘heroic’.<sup>48</sup> But what does knowing this means for our interpretation of the scene?

Here Erwin Panofsky’s influential three strata of subject matter or meaning act as a useful check for what we might reliably be able to understand from any given artistic representation of a musician.<sup>49</sup> On the first stratum, that of “primary or natural subject matter, factual and expressional”, we deal with forms and how those forms carry meaning as artistic motifs. We identify a particular shape as a *kithara*, or we distinguish two strokes as an *aulos*. On the second stratum, that of “secondary or conventional subject matter”, what Panofsky calls ‘iconography’, we extract meaning from such motifs. For example, we can identify a musician with elaborate robes standing on a *bēma* and holding a *kithara* as a competitive musician, a beardless male sat on a chair and holding a lyre as a school-boy, and a scene with a figure holding a *kithara* in opposition to a satyr with an *aulos* as the contest between Apollo and Marsyas. On the third stratum, that of “intrinsic meaning or content”, what Panofsky calls

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stage and actually plays. See Kovacs (2013, 485f.) for further discussion, and *passim* for the use of stringed instruments in Classical drama.

45 Walsh, 2009, *passim*.

46 For example, the Asteas vase in the Ashmolean (1945.54), where an acrobat balances on a spinning pottery wheel.

47 See Walsh (2009, 84f.) for a discussion of how “comic images which simply appear to parody [...] serious iconography but may in fact be much more directly influenced by the stage”.

48 See a fragment by Asteas (Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia 50279) where the myth of Ajax’s rape of Cassandra is subverted to show Cassandra molesting Ajax (Walsh 2009, 81-5).

49 First introduced in the essay “Iconography and Iconology” in Panofsky 1939, and again in Panofsky 1955. See Hasenmueller 1978.

'iconology', we are then able to tell that a depiction of the contest between Apollo and Marsyas relates to wider cultural tensions between the role of the *aulos* and the *kithara* in 5th century Athens, and that there is a cultural significance to the Hellenistic change in focus in such a scene to depict the punishment of Marsyas.

Being mindful of Panofsky's three strata has the benefit of highlighting that a realistic representation of a musical instrument is at no point a requirement for a viewer to understand the significance, iconographical or iconological, of that instrument or musician.

#### 4 Conclusion

The case of Phrynis' *strobilos* raises a number of important issues with regards to the identification of musical objects in Classical art and archaeology. How can we be certain that a piece of bone is a plectrum, or that fragments of bone were once part of an *aulos*? This problem presents itself with such unadorned objects like a stylus, but also when trying to identify elements which might have come from highly ornate instruments, since they share decorative elements with other objects too.<sup>50</sup>

If the two items from Leukas are to be identified as styluses, in addition to the lack of a *strobilos* on the above vases which depict Phrynis with a *kithara*, that does not mean that mechanisms similar to those described by Lynch could not have been used. However, at least for the time being, the *strobilos*' appearance in the material record remains open to dispute. Phrynis would surely smile to know that 2500 years after his musical innovations, he is still proving to be something of an *enfant terrible*.

It is the hope of this author that wider discussions about the methodologies applied to the study of the material evidence relating to ancient Greek and Roman music, be that artistic or archaeological, might be encouraged. The purpose of this paper has been to propose an object-based framework, to be used in parallel with contextual analyses, which will help to improve our identification and understanding of ancient musical art and archaeology through a conspicuous examination of composition, comparison, and concept.

<sup>50</sup> Most recently, see Neer 2018, 477-9, pls 5-6 (with bibliography) for the interpretation of an object (Samos, Museum inv. E 88), which is traditionally seen as an exquisitely carved lyre arm. See also the silver Lyre of Ur, ca. 2600 BC, with its silver-coated frame, and decorative scenes made of shell, lapis lazuli and red limestone inlays (London, British Museum 121199). This is also the case with non-figurative objects, compare the finely worked silver details on the Reading *aulos*, ca. 400-100 BC (Ure Museum, 67.7.3).

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## Pseudo-Psellus' *Synopsis of Music* *New Sources for Its Circulation and Interpretation*

*Sofia Di Mambro*

PhD Researcher Università Ca' Foscari, Venezia, Venice, Italy

*sofia.dimambro@unive.it*

### Abstract

This paper focuses on some quotations of Pseudo-Psellus' treatise on music. Three quotations are provided and discussed: the well-known one by Manuel Bryennius, and two others by Joannes Zonaras and Michael Italicus. The Byzantine tendency to preserve pagan contents within Christian categories, together with the unique presence of this text in the overview of the ancient theoretical tradition, may be the main reasons for its wide circulation in the Byzantine world.

### Keywords

ancient Greek music – ancient Greek science – Byzantine reception – scholastic texts – quadrivium

The *Quadrivium*<sup>1</sup> traditionally attributed to Psellus has suffered, in modern ages, from its apparently unoriginal content and, most of all, its debated and uncertain authorial history. Yet in Byzantine times this work was considered significant, and this gives it a historical value that we should not neglect. We will concentrate on the latter, leaving aside the authorial issue, and try to shed light on the context of its circulation, and the reasons for its survival.

We will specifically take into account the musical section of the *Quadrivium* (τῆς μουσικῆς σύνοψις ἡκριβωμένη = *Synopsis*), and analyse some sources which later exploited the text almost *verbatim*, namely Joannes Zonaras, Michael Italicus and Manuel Bryennius.

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<sup>1</sup> The most recent edition is the one by Heiberg (1929, 50-122).

## 1 The Text and Its Shape

Scholars tend to agree that the text, which appears for the first time in the Heidelbergensis manuscript *Pal. gr. 281*, dated to 1040 AD, with the complete *Quadrivium* and a treatise on Logic, had probably been written some decades before, as Rose<sup>2</sup> claimed for the first time; this detail would evidently deny any possibility of Psellus' authorship.<sup>3</sup> Richter<sup>4</sup> followed Rose in asserting the inauthenticity, as did Katsiampoura<sup>5</sup> few years ago, again establishing 1008 as the year in which the *Quadrivium* was written. This hypothesis was nevertheless rejected by Mathiesen,<sup>6</sup> who firmly believed the text to be by Psellus.

The text is considered an introductory manual to the liberal disciplines of the *Quadrivium*, which were part of the educational program for those who aspired to public office. In its contents, the *Quadrivium* turns out to be an epitome of ancient sources concerned with science. When it comes specifically to the section on harmonics, the main sources are Theon of Smyrna's *De utilitate mathematicae* and Nicomachus Gerasenus' *Harmonicum Enchiridion*.

The scholastic purpose of the *Synopsis* is suggested by the text itself.<sup>7</sup> Its structure is evidently that of a scholastic manual.<sup>8</sup> All the main topics on harmonic theory, which had always concerned ancient scholars, are juxtaposed with an elementary argumentative passage. The brief argument follows the outline of the topic, and, in many cases, this is followed by some arithmetical examples to better clarify the complex subject. Let us take as a representative

2 See Rose 1867, 465-7. Rose was the first to notice that, at the end of the astronomical treatise (8.108.14 Heiberg), there was an indication that the text should be dated to the world year 6516, i.e. AD 1008.

3 The real impossibility of attributing the text to Psellus should also be investigated through its content: there are too many naïve remarks, sometimes real mistakes, which cannot be attributed to a man who had a deep knowledge of ancient scientific sources. See Richter 1971, 124-6, for some specific issues concerning the text, even though the study is not exhaustive. See also note 8.

4 Richter 1998, 161.

5 Katsiampoura 2010, 409ff.

6 Mathiesen 1999, 645.

7 Cacouros (2006, 24-6) clearly distinguishes the texts that circulated inside the schools, i.e. manuals written by teachers, from the treatises on philosophy and sciences produced in an erudite context. The two categories, says Cacouros, were in an osmotic relationship during the Palaiologan Age. Regarding the *Synopsis*, scholastic features are still emphasized.

8 Zeegers-Vander Vorst (1963, 129-61) arrives at the same conclusion about the arithmetic treatise from the same *Quadrivium* after analysing some passages which reveal its elementary essence, together with some theoretical ingenuities, which seem explicable only if we think of a scholastic purpose for this text. See also Katsiampoura 2010, 412ff. for an overview of the structure.



example the eighth paragraph about the numerical ratios which subtend the intervals (*Syn.* 8.69.16-25):

λόγος δὲ τοῦ μὲν διὰ τεσσάρων ἐπίτριτος, τοῦ δὲ διὰ πέντε ἡμιόλιος, τοῦ δὲ διὰ πασῶν διπλάσιος, τοῦ διὰ πασῶν καὶ δις διὰ τεσσάρων διπλασιεπιμερῆς, τοῦ διὰ πασῶν καὶ δις διὰ πέντε τριπλάσιος, τοῦ δις διὰ πασῶν τετραπλάσιος· οἷον ὡς ἐπὶ ὑποδείγματος κείσθω πρῶτος ἐν ἀριθμοῖς ὅρος ὁ ἕκτος ἡμῖν ἀριθμός, πρὸς ὃν πάντως ἐπίτριτος ὁ ὄγδοος, ἡμιόλιος ὁ ἑνατος, διπλάσιος ὁ δωδέκατος, διπλασιεπιμερῆς ὁ ἐξκαιδέκατος τὸν ἕκτον δις ἔχων καὶ δύο μέρη αὐτοῦ, τριπλάσιος ὁ ὀκτωκαιδέκατος, τετραπλάσιος ὁ εἰκοστὸς τέταρτος.<sup>9</sup>

The intervals are named with their corresponding ratios, which are in turn briefly explained with arithmetical examples. The argumentation is deepened a little in the following paragraph, where the compiler relates the ratios to the values of tension rather than to the numerical quantities of the notes: εἰδέναι μέντοι χρή, ὡς οὐ πρὸς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν φθόγγων ἢ τῶν χορδῶν οἱ λόγοι τῶν διαστάσεων κρίνονται, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν ἐπίτασιν τῆς ἡχῆς τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ βαρέος πρὸς τὸ ὀξύτερον (*Syn.* 9.69.26-70.2). This second argument is again followed by some examples showing that the ratios cannot in fact be determined by the quantity of notes contained in an interval. Here the compiler exhausts the highly complex topic of musical ratios.

The same could be said for all the topics discussed in this seven-page treatise: notes, small intervals, the concords, simple and compound intervals, paraphony and antiphony, arithmetical ratios and *genē* (diatonic, chromatic and enharmonic).

Despite its elementary, synthetic and apparently unoriginal essence, this musical treatise has been incredibly fortunate, both in its material transmission, since many copies were produced through centuries,<sup>10</sup> and in the textual influence it had. More on the latter below.

9 'The ratio of the fourth is epitritus, that of the fifth is hemiolic, that of the octave is double, that of the eleventh is double-epimeric, that of the twelfth is triple, that of the double octave is quadruple. Let us consider, by way of example, the number six as the first arithmetic term: in relation to this number, the number eight is in epitritus ratio, the number nine in hemiolic ratio, the number twelve in double ratio, the number sixteen in double-epimeric ratio (it is two times six plus two parts of it), the eighteen in triple ratio, the twenty-four in quadruple ratio'.

10 See Moore 2005, 334-9.

## 2 Quotations of the *Synopsis*

Until now only Bryennius' debt to the *Synopsis* has been recognized. The occurrence is found in the only surviving work by Bryennius, the *Harmonica*, and it is a direct, word-for-word quotation.

Concerning Bryennius, what little we know is uncertain. In his *Στοιχείωσις ἀστρονομική*,<sup>11</sup> Theodorus Metochites declares that he had a certain Manuel Bryennius as private astronomy tutor, whom he recognizes as the most learned man in Constantinople when it comes to mathematics and astronomy.<sup>12</sup>

Not only was he private tutor to Metochites, a politician and worthy humanist who no doubt had a multifaceted personality,<sup>13</sup> but Bryennius apparently also had the merit of vivifying the study of science in Constantinople, as his *scholia* on Ptolemy's *Almagest* bear witness.<sup>14</sup>

In his *Harmonica*, Bryennius reworks Pachymeres' *Quadrivium* and other treatises by authors like Aristides Quintilianus, Nicomachus, Ptolemy and Cleonides.<sup>15</sup> Among his sources, the *Synopsis* has a certain importance, as is attested by the word-for-word quotation in *Harm.* 1, 5, where Bryennius deals with antiphonic and paraphonic intervals.<sup>16</sup> As Jonker had already noted, the text is perfectly identical.<sup>17</sup>

11 Bydén 2003, 417-74.

12 Metoch. *Stoich.* 1.26.445ff. ἦν δὴ τις τῶν περὶ λόγους ἐχόντων ἐν τῇ βασιλίδι τῇδε καθ' ἡμᾶς πόλει, Μανουὴλ ὄνομα Βρυέννιος, ἀνὴρ, ὡς ἔδειξε πειραθεῖσι, περὶ πᾶσαν μαθηματικὴν ἔξιν ἀστρονομικὴν τε μάλιστα ἐπιστημονικώτατος, εἰ δὴ ποτέ τις καὶ ἄλλος.

13 See Beck 1952, 3-25; Verpeaux 1960, 195-8. For more on Metochites as a humanist see Bazzani 2006, 32-52C; Förstel 2011, 241-66.

14 See Heiberg 1896, 83ff.

15 See Mathiesen 1999, 658.

16 The passage itself deals with an issue which is specifically concerned very few sources, and not before the 1st century AD. Pseudo-Psellus' treatise is one of them (see also Gaud. *Eisag.* 8.337-5-338.5; Ptol. *Harm.* 1.7). The matter of the antiphonic and paraphonic intervals, as it is treated here, implies that, in a kind of 'scale of consonance', the octave is an antiphonic interval since the percussion units of the two notes are equal, in a ratio of 2:1, whereas the fourth and fifth are paraphonic intervals, with the percussion units in unequal ratios of respectively 4:3 and 3:2. It means that these last intervals are lower in the scale of consonance. This specific subdivision is only found in Thrasyllus *apud* Theon (*De util. math.* 48, 16 ff.), which is no doubt Pseudo-Psellus' source for the entire section. In fact, immediately before the passage from the *Harmonica* we quoted (*Harm.* 1.5.100.4-7), Bryennius copies Thrasyllus' hierarchy. Probably Bryennius had already noted the *Synopsis*' debt to the Theonian text, and he synthesized them: Thrasyllus' peculiar subdivision completed with Pseudo-Psellus' definition.

17 Jonker identifies other *loci paralleli*, even if the others are not word-for-word quotations. See Jonker 1970, 408.

Bryenn. *Harm.* 1.5.100.7-14:

διαφέρει δ' ἀλλήλων τό τε ἀντίφωνον  
καί παράφωνον τῷ τὸ μὲν παράφωνον  
ἀνισοχρόνως συμφωνεῖν, ἡπίως τε καὶ  
εὐρύθμως διαδεχομένων ἀλλήλους  
τῶν φθόγγων ἀναλογίαις τε καὶ λόγοις  
καθ'ὁμαλότητα, τὸ δὲ ἀντίφωνον ἰσο-  
χρόνως, τοῦ ὀξέος τῷ βαρεῖ κατὰ ταὐτὸ  
συμφωνοῦντος οἷον τοῦ ὀγδοῦ τῷ  
πρώτῳ, τοῦ ἐννάτου τῷ δευτέρῳ, τοῦ  
δωδεκάτου τῷ πέμπτῳ καὶ τοῦ πεντε-  
καιδεκάτου τῷ ὀγδῳ, συνανιόντων ἢ  
συγκατιόντων ἐν ταῖς τάσεσιν ἢ ἀνέσεσιν  
τῶν βαρέων τοῖς ὀξέσιν ἢ τῶν ὀξέων τοῖς  
βαρέσιν ἀνά λόγον.<sup>18</sup>

*Syn.* 6.68.22-69.8:

διαφέρει δ' ἀλλήλων τό τε παράφωνον  
καὶ ἀντίφωνον τῷ τὸ μὲν παράφωνον  
ἀνισοχρόνως συμφωνεῖν ἡπίως πως καὶ  
εὐρύθμως διαδεχομένων ἀλλήλοις τῶν  
φθόγγων ἀναλογίαις καὶ λόγοις καθ'ὁμα-  
λότητα, τὸ δὲ ἀντίφωνον ἰσοχρόνως τοῦ  
ὀξέως τῷ βαρεῖ κατὰ ταὐτὸν συμφω-  
νοῦντος, οἷον τοῦ ὀγδοῦ τῷ πρώτῳ, τοῦ  
ἐνδεκάτου τῷ τετάρτῳ, τοῦ δωδεκάτου  
τῷ πέμπτῳ καὶ τοῦ πεντεκαιδεκάτου  
τῷ ὀγδῳ συνανιόντων ἢ συγκατιόντων  
ἐν ταῖς τάσεσιν ἢ ἀνέσεσι τῶν βαρέων  
τοῖς ὀξέσιν ἢ τῶν ὀξέων τοῖς βαρέσι κατὰ  
ἀνάλογον.

There are nevertheless two other echoes of the *Synopsis*, which precede Bryennius' activity by at least a century, and which can lead to further considerations.

The first is by Joannes Zonaras. He was historian and imperial secretary in 12th century Constantinople, and is known mainly for his *Epitome historiarum* in eighteen volumes.

Regarding Zonaras, we know he held political offices, but he stood out for intellectual activities too. Many headings of manuscripts of his work report the titles of πρωτοασκηρήτης, the Emperor's personal secretary, and δρουγγάριος τῆς βίγλης, the Commander of the Palace Watch;<sup>19</sup> at the same time he was working on canonical exegesis, hagiographical material, homilies and, after retreating from public life—probably in the monastery of St. Glyceria—he completed the *Epitome*.

18 'Antiphonic and paraphonic intervals differ from each other in that (the notes of) a paraphonic interval produce a consonance based upon unequal units, the sounds succeeding each other gently and gracefully in an equable manner according to the correspondence of their ratios, whereas (the notes of) an antiphonic interval produce a consonance based upon equal units, because the units of the high and the low sound coincide, as for instance the eighth note with the first and the ninth with the second, and the twelfth with the fifth, and the fifteenth with the eighth, provided that the low notes rise or fall in proportion to the high notes, and conversely, when their tension is increased or reduced' (transl. Jonker 1970).

19 See Banchich and Lane 2009, 2ff.

Besides this huge work and other theological works, he is the author of a *Hypomnema in S. Cyrillum Alexandrinum*.<sup>20</sup> The first part of this work is devoted to celebrating Cyril's liberal education. In sections 7 to 10 Zonaras briefly goes through the liberal disciplines of the Quadrivium, and section 8 is specifically dedicated to music. Even from a first reading, the debt to the *Synopsis* is immediately evident, as we can see in its first paragraph, which celebrates music as the perfect *symmetria*:

Zon. *Hypomn. in S. Cyr. Alex.* 8.1-9:  
Μουσικὴν δέ, ἥ παντὸς τοῖς σοφοῖς ἡξί-  
ωται θαύματος, ὡς αὐτοσυμμετρία τίς  
καὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἁρμονία τυγχάνουσα, οὐ  
τὴν ἐν αὐλοῖς καὶ ῥυθμοῖς καὶ ἐν κρού-  
μασι, τὴν ἐν μιᾷ τῶν αἰσθήσεων, τῇ ἀκοῇ  
λέγω, θεωρουμένην μόνην μεμύητο,  
ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐν ἁρμονίαις καὶ λόγοις.  
ὡς εἰδέναι, τί μὲν ἐστὶ φθόγγος· τί δὲ  
φθόγγων διάστημα· τί δὲ σύστημα, τί  
δ' ἁρμονία ἐστὶ, καὶ ὅσαι προσηγορίαι·  
καὶ τίνες τῶν φθόγγων εἰσὶ· καὶ ὅλως  
τὴν πάντα κοσμοῦσαν τὲ καὶ συνέχου-  
σαν, καὶ ἁρμονίας μὲν τῇ φύσει, τῷ δὲ  
νῷ γινομένην αἰτίαν μακαριότητος· τῶν  
γενητῶν γὰρ οὐδὲν μὴ μετὰ συμμετρίας  
καὶ ἀναλογίας γινόμενον, προσηκόντως  
ἀν' σχοίῃ καὶ γένοιτο εὖ.

*Syn.* 1.65.9ff.:  
ἡ δὲ μουσικὴ αὐτοσυμμετρία τίς ἐστὶ καὶ  
ἀναλογία τὸ πᾶν, οἷα τοῦ παντὸς ἁρμο-  
νία τυγχάνουσα [...].  
τοσούτου τὴν μουσικὴν ἡξίωσαν θαύ-  
ματος· ἥς ἐν ἅπασιν οὕτω θεωρουμένης  
καὶ πάντα διεπούσης καὶ κοσμοῦσης καὶ  
ἡδονὴν μὲν τῇ αἰσθήσει, ἁρμονίαν δὲ τῇ  
φύσει, μακαριότητα δὲ τῇ νοήσει χαρι-  
ζομένης, περὶ τῆς ἐν αἰσθήσει μουσικῆς,  
μᾶλλον δὲ τῆς ἐν μιᾷ τῶν αἰσθήσεων  
τῇ ἀκοῇ θεωρουμένης ἐν ἐπιτόμῳ  
διαληψόμεθα.<sup>21</sup>

The vocabulary perfectly evokes the *Synopsis* introduction and its cosmology, built on the 'Platonic-Pythagorean' concepts of *analogia*, *symmetria* and *autosymmetria*.<sup>22</sup> The last in particular, with the prefix *αὐτο-*, which simply

20 Kaltsogianni 2013, 572-84.

21 'But music is, in a way, some sort of ideal symmetry and perfect proportion: it is harmony of the whole. [...] They considered music worthy of admiration in such a way; since you can contemplate it to such an extent in every single thing, and since music governs and gives order to everything, and since it gives pleasure to sense perception, harmony to nature, and bliss to thought, we will concisely deal with music in the senses—or better, with music contemplated by only one of the senses: hearing'.

22 See Diels/Kranz 1960; Zhmud 2012, 285-92, 337-46, 394-414. For Plato's cosmological doctrines see specifically Plat. *Tim.* 31b-40d: here Plato describes the creation of the Universal soul, which was cut in proportional and symmetrical pieces, with reference to the musical ratios (see Barker 1989, 58-61).

indicates the absolute completion of the idea of *symmetria*, is conclusive evidence of Zonaras' debt to Pseudo-Psellus' treatise: it is a *hapax* of the *Synopsis*. Moreover, the specific distinction we find in the *Synopsis* between music perceived by hearing, and music as a conceptual activity, which could be reduced to the dichotomy *mousikē-harmonia*, appears in Zonaras' passage as a distinction between instrumental music and music concerned with scales and ratios.

Zonaras' reading of the treatise did not stop at the introductory section but probably went beyond it, since the order in which he proposes the elements of the discipline is exactly the same as we find in *Syn.* 2.65.25ff.,<sup>23</sup> namely: note, interval, *systema*, scale and notes nomenclature.

The other, almost contemporary source in which we find a small but significant reminder of the *Synopsis* is Michael Italicus.

Concerning Italicus, much information can be inferred from his *Letters* and *Orations*. As *didaskalos* of the Gospels in 1142, in the speech he performed probably in St. Sophia for the new office, he refers to his previous charges as *didaskalos*, namely of the Old Testament and of St. Paul's letters.<sup>24</sup> He was a widely cultured man, who had experience in profane studies, possibly as a teacher of rhetoric and philosophy:<sup>25</sup> in the letter addressed to Theophanes (*Ep.* 18) he invites his cousin to join the 'intellectual banquet' which he shares with *all the others* (μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων παρ' ἐμέ),<sup>26</sup> be they private students or a class school pupils. The objects of his lessons cover all the branches of philosophy and science, as he himself says: Pythagoras, Plato, mathematics and its dependent subjects, and so on.<sup>27</sup>

In the second of his *Orationes* (Λόγος εἰς τὸν πατριάρχην κύρ Μιχαὴλ τὸν πρῶην ἡγούμενον τῆς Ὁξείας) he deals with the difference between corporeal and spiritual marriage. To describe the first, he associates it with the image of a 'material'

23 φθόγγος ἐστὶ φωνῆς ἀδιαστάτου ἐναρμόνιος τάσις, διάστημα δὲ φθόγγων ἢ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ποιὰ σχέσις, σύστημα δὲ ποια διαστημάτων περιοχὴ, ἁρμονία δὲ συστημάτων σύνταξις [...]. προσηγορίαὶ δὲ φθόγγων διάφοροι τῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ βαρέος ἐπὶ τὸ ὀξύ προόδῳ καὶ τάξει τὰς προσηγορίας λαμβάνοντες. 'A note is the extension of an indivisible musical voice, an interval is a certain relation between the notes, a *systema* is a certain extent of intervals, and, lastly, a scale is a composition of *systema* [...]. The denominations of the notes differ in the progression from the low pitch to the high pitch, and get their name in order.'

24 Mich. Ital. Or. 10.124.8-15 μετὰ τῆς κιθάρας Δαυὶδ ἠχῆσαμεν, τὰς χορδὰς ἐκεῖνου πολλάκις μουσικώτατα περιψήλαντες καὶ ὑπατὴν καὶ νήτην καὶ τοὺς μέσους φθόγγους ἐπισκοπούμενοι καὶ τί τὸ διάτονον γένος καὶ τί τὸ χρώμα καὶ πῶς καὶ ἐν τίσι τοῖς διαστήμασι τὸ ἐναρμόνιον ἄσαιμεν· ἔστι δ' οὐ καὶ τὸ διεξευγμένον, ἔστι δ' οὐ καὶ τὸ συνημμένον πολλάκις ἐψάλλομεν. ἔπειτα διεδέξατο ἡμᾶς ἡ πυρίνη γλῶττα τοῦ Παύλου καὶ συνέιχε καὶ πρὸς θειοτέρας φωνὰς συνεχύμναζε.

25 See Gautier 1971, 16-19.

26 *Ep.* 18.159.9.

27 See *Ep.* 18.157.3-158.23.

music, we might say, which is concerned with the arithmetical ratios and technical aspects, such as the notes “of the *hexadecachord* in the *pentedecachord*”:

Mich. Ital. *Or.* 2.68.6-10:

ὁ δέ γε πνευματικὸς μουσικὴν ἄλλην  
τινὰ θαυμαστὴν καὶ ἄλλην ἁρμονίαν ἐπι-  
ζητεῖ, οὐ κενοῖς φθόγγοις ἁρμοζομένην  
κατὰ τινας λόγους ἡμιολίους καὶ ἐπιτρί-  
τους ἢ διπλασίους, οὐδ' ἐν ὀργάνῳ τινί,  
ἐν πεντεκαίδεκαχόρδῳ τὸ ἐκκαίδεκά-  
χορδον διατείνουσιν.

*Syn.* 2.66.11-16:

διὰ τούτων ἀπαρτίζεται τὸ ἐν πεντε-  
καίδεκαχόρδῳ ἐκκαίδεκάχορδον τοῦ  
πέρατος τοῦ ὀκταχόρδου εἰς ἀρχὴν  
τοῖς μετέπειτα λαμβανομένου κατὰ  
συνέχειαν.<sup>28</sup>

The formulation τὸ ἐν πεντεκαίδεκαχόρδῳ ἐκκαίδεκάχορδον is a peculiar anomaly of the *Synopsis*. It raises a conceptual problem difficult to resolve. The compiler is dealing here with the double octave system, which is properly composed of fifteen notes, with one note in common for the two octaves. It should not be a surprise then if the whole expression, and specifically τὸ ἐκκαίδεκάχορδον, is a *hapax* among the whole of musical literature: the system is in fact ‘pentadecachordal’. The ‘hexadecachord’ seems inexplicable. We can however guess that the incongruity was generated by the idea of *doubling* the octave: doubling eight we obtain sixteen.

What interests us is Italicus' quotation: he could only have the *Synopsis* in mind.

### 3 The Context

These occurrences clearly show that the text was read by prominent intellectuals of the 12th and 13th centuries at Constantinople. If Zonaras and Italicus read it in the mid-12th century, it means that the text had already circulated in Constantinople at that time.

The earliest manuscript we have, Heidelberg. Pal. Gr. 281, was assembled in 1040 by the copyist Nikolaos Kalligraphos, from the works owned by Romanus, the imperial secretary of Seleucia: ἐγράφη ἡ βίβλος αὕτη διὰ χειρὸς Νικολάου καλλιγράφου μηνὶ ἰαννουαρίῳ ἰδ' ἰνδικτιώνος ὀγδόης ἔτους, ζψμη ἐκ πολλῶν πονημάτων Ῥωμανοῦ ἀσηκρήτης καὶ κριτοῦ τοῦ Σελευκείας συλλεγεῖσα τοῦ καὶ αὐθέντου

28 ‘Through these notes the hexadecachord in the pentadecachord is completed by taking the extreme of the octachord as the beginning for the successive notes continuously’.



μου. οἱ ἀναγινώσκοντες αὐτὴν εὖχεσθε ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ (f. 181r).<sup>29</sup> However, it is not clear if the manuscript was copied in Seleucia or if it had already been copied in Constantinople. If it was not copied in Constantinople it arrived there quite soon, as Zonaras' and Italicus' interest testifies.

Not only was the text evidently in circulation, but the status that the *Synopsis* had is also materially witnessed by its appearing alone, without the rest of the *Quadrivium*, in an important Constantinople manuscript, the *Vat. gr. 192*.<sup>30</sup> It dates to the 13th century, and was probably read by Bryennius, at least with regards to Pseudo-Psellus' treatise. It is an important manuscript when it comes to the transmission of ancient musical texts.<sup>31</sup> Part of it derives from the *Heid. Pal. gr. 281*, since we find in it, among other texts, the complete *Synopsis* (ff. 1r-2r), Theon's *De utilitate mathematicae* for the exact section contained in the *Heidelbergensis*, and the *Anecdoton Bacchii* (*Heid. Pal. 281 f. 180r-181r*). It is therefore highly likely that the text of the *Synopsis* contained in the *Vat. Gr. 192* directly derives from the *Heid. Pal. gr. 281*. This means that, at some point, the *Synopsis* was included in the 'musical corpus', thanks to which all the most renowned ancient musical treatises have been transmitted.

Then Bryennius' interest in this text testifies to its wide circulation, which started soon after it was written. From Bryennius' time onwards it had an even more fortunate destiny, given the number of copies produced from the 14th to the 17th century, and the Latin translations after it reached the West.

Why then did these intellectuals read this text and have it in mind while compiling their works?

The most obvious reason is probably that the *Synopsis* was the only surviving work concerning harmonic theory specifically between the latest treatises of the Imperial Age<sup>32</sup> and the Palaiologan Renaissance, the latter of which saw the greater works on music by Pachymeres and Bryennius.

29 See Mathiesen 1988, 30-3 for a complete description of the manuscript.

30 Heiberg does not mention this manuscript. See its description in Mathiesen 1988, 549-54. Mathiesen (1985, 41-3) identifies five manuscripts from the 13th century or earlier which were available in the capital for Bryennius to use, i.e. *Vat. gr. 191*, 192, 2338, *Ven. Marc. gr. app. cl. v1/3* and *v1/10*. All these manuscripts can be placed in the network of the *Heid. Pal. gr. 281*, and they include different combinations of the same treatises. *Vat. gr. 192* is precisely an apograph of *Vat. gr. 191*: see Acerbi 2016, 158 n. 41.

31 See Mathiesen 1999, 653f.

32 The renowned treatises from the Imperial Age are Nicomachus' *Harmonicum Enchiridion*, Ptolemy's *Harmonica*, Aristides Quintilianus' *De musica*, Boethius' *De institutione musica*, the music section of Cassiodorus's *Institutiones* and Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*.

The *Synopsis* (and, of course, the *Quadrivium*) bears witness to the continuance of scholastic activity,<sup>33</sup> on the wave of the humanism which had encouraged the study of ancient science, although with a more compiling and encyclopaedic approach than that of Pachymeres and Bryennius.<sup>34</sup> Even though it does not exhibit the wide-ranging nature of these treatises, or of the last treatises extant from the Imperial Age, it is nonetheless a fundamental turning point in the history of harmonic science, a fact that made it useful for the 12th century intellectuals who needed to discuss music, even in a non-technical context.

Furthermore, even if we have said above that the text was 'fortunate' "despite its elementary, synthetical and apparently unoriginal essence" (p. 340 above), this is truer for modern scholars than for ancient ones. In fact, its synthetic shape could be easily exploited, most of all by intellectuals who were not directly and deeply concerned with music, such as Zonaras and Italicus.

But at least one more reason can be conjectured as to why this text satisfied the intellectuals' interest, as we will see below.

#### 4 Christian-Pagan Ambiguity<sup>35</sup>

An extremely interesting point when reading the text is the subtle ambiguity, which governs the argumentation, between ancient, pagan theory, and the possible reinterpretation of the same theory from a Christian perspective. We have immediate evidence of it in the introductory paragraph, where the compiler identifies music with the principle of *harmonia*, defined in terms of *symmetria* and *analogia*.<sup>36</sup> In such a scenario, which comes from the most

33 It is probably a surviving symbol of what Lemerle calls 'premier humanisme byzantin', which had started a couple of centuries before, with its symptomatic figure of Leo The Mathematician. See Lemerle 1971, 148ff.

34 Katsiampoura (2010, 421), in her comparison between this *Quadrivium* and the one by Pachymeres, notes that, if Pseudo-Psellus' *Quadrivium* is a simple epitome of ancient sources, the second *Quadrivium* will be still an epitome but with a more original and dynamic discussion based on the pre-existing knowledge.

35 The topic would require a specific paper and further investigations. Nevertheless, we mention it for the purposes of our argument, analyzing a few passages from the *Synopsis* where the topic becomes noteworthy.

36 *Syn.* 1.65.9-15: μουσικὴν οἱ παλαιοὶ συνέχειν εἶπον τὸ πᾶν· οὐδὲν γὰρ τῶν ὄντων συμμετρίας ἄτερ καὶ ἀναλογίας ἐστίν· ἀλλ' οὐδέ τι τῶν γινομένων μὴ μετὰ συμμετρίας τῆς προσηκούσης καὶ ἀναλογίας γινόμενον καλῶς ἂν ποτε γένοιτο, κἂν τεχνητὸν εἴη κἂν φυσικόν, κἂν αἰσθήσει ληπτὸν κἂν περὶ μόνῃν νόησιν θεωρούμενον, ἥ δὲ μουσικὴ αὐτοσυμμετρία τίς ἐστὶ καὶ ἀναλογία τὸ πᾶν, οἷα τοῦ παντὸς ἁρμονία τυγχάνουσα, 'the ancients said that music embraced the whole. In fact,

ancient 'Pythagorean-Platonic' horizon of studies on the harmonic phenomenon, the author evokes *to theion* and makes it coincide with the principle of *harmonia* (1. 65.15-18):

τάχα δ' ἂν τις καὶ τὸ θεῖον αὐτὸ οὐκ ἀπεικότως ἁρμονία ἑαυτοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ  
παντὸς ὀνομάσῃ, ἐν ᾧ τὸ πᾶν συναρμολογούμενον καὶ συμβιβαζόμενον εἶ τε  
καὶ ὡς ἄριστα διαφαίνεται ἔχον.<sup>37</sup>

And, specifically, the compiler explains the concept with the Pauline pairing *συναρμολογούμενον*–*συμβιβαζόμενον*,<sup>38</sup> which had a great influence throughout the centuries, and which becomes for this reason full of meaning.

This operation recalls the one implied by Clemens of Alexandria in his *Protrepticus*,<sup>39</sup> again in the introductory section: there Clemens produces an extended metaphor, based on harmonic elements and vocabulary, to explain the effects of Christ's *Logos*, namely the *ᾠσμα καινόν*, the 'new song'. The effects could be synthesized as follows: καὶ δὴ τὸ ᾠσμα τὸ ἀκήρατον, ἔρεισμα τῶν ὅλων καὶ ἁρμονία τῶν πάντων, ἀπὸ τῶν μέσων ἐπὶ τὰ πέρατα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἁκρῶν ἐπὶ τὰ μέσα διαταθέν, ἡρμόσατο τόδε τὸ πᾶν (1.5.2.8-11). Starting with Clemens and Origen's 'allegorical method' of exegesis, the musical metaphor, and most of all the one connected to the harmony of creation, became part of the Christian 'vocabulary'.<sup>40</sup> The *Synopsis* is a telling example.

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none of the existing things exists without measure and proportion, nor could anything ever be beautiful when not constituted by the right measure and proportion, be it either an artificial or natural thing, perceptible by the senses or contemplated by thought alone. Music, instead, is some sort of ideal symmetry and perfect proportion: it is harmony of the whole.'

37 'And maybe someone, not without reason, could call the deity too *harmonia* between itself and the whole: there the whole, combined in the right chord, reveals itself to the fullest'. The choice to use the neuter *to theion* together with the principle of *harmonia* increases the ambiguity: it is not immediately evident whether the compiler means a real Deity, or rather wants to assert that the *harmonia* is a kind of divine principle, in an aesthetic sense. The latter is convincing in light of what we find in Ptol. *Harm.* 3.3: the three existing principles are material, movement and shape, the *harmonia* being a principle of movement, as cause specifically related to the *logos*, which stays among the gods (τοῖς μὲν θεοῖς ἀεὶ συνὼν ὡς ἂν ἀεὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς οὖσι) and has a *more divine* part, namely the intellect (ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν λόγον αἰτίου τὸ μὲν ἐστὶν ὡς νοῦς καὶ παρὰ τὸ θειότερον εἶδος, 3.3.32f.).

38 See *Ep. ad Eph.* 4.15f. In the Saint Paul's *Epistula* the pairing is used to identify the different components of the Church, the composition and *harmonization* of which realize the Church itself and contribute to its growing.

39 See specifically *Protr.* 1.5.1f. The topic is thoroughly investigated by Raffa 2017, 47-57.

40 See McKinnon 1987, and specifically 28-41.

When it comes specifically to the theory, the tendency is more difficult to find; nevertheless it is present. A close reading reveals that the interval of the octave, through the whole text, shows a kind of finalistic tension, expressed by vocabulary and 'images'. Consider, for example, the fifth paragraph, where the compiler is dealing with the concords—the fourth, the fifth and the octave—and explains the reason for their denominations, namely διὰ τεσσάρων the fourth, διὰ πέντε the fifth and διὰ πασών the octave:

τῇ δὲ τῶν διὰ μέσου φθόγγων κατατεταγμένη ποσότητι τὰς τοιάσδε προσηγορίας ἐδέξαντο, τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων ὡς διὰ τεσσάρων φθόγγων εἴτ' οὖν χορδῶν διοδεύον καὶ περαινόμενον, καὶ τὸ διὰ πέντε ὡς διὰ πέντε τελούμενον καὶ τὸ διὰ πασών ὡς δι' ὅκτῳ τελειούμενον· διὰ πασών δὲ τὸ δι' ὅκτῳ λέγεται ὡς ἐν τῷ ὀκταχόρδῳ τῶν ὅλων διαστάσεων συμπληρουμένων ἀκχεῖθεν αὐτῆς ἐπαναδιπλουμένων, ὡς καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς δηλοῦται τῆς φερωνυμίας τῶν κλήσεων.<sup>41</sup> (5.68.9-17)

The fourth is called διὰ τεσσάρων by virtue of its completion (τελέω) through four notes, the fifth through five notes, whereas the octave is completed through eight notes, this time with the epic form τελείω;<sup>42</sup> and its name, διὰ πασών, is due to the fact that it *includes all the intervals*. The double version τελούμενον–τελειούμενον definitely underlines the qualitative difference between the octave and the rest of the intervals.

The wording τὸ ὅλον συμπληρώω too is full of meaning: after its Aristotelian usage,<sup>43</sup> it was widely exploited by the Christian tradition, on concepts such as the harmony of creation and the harmonic equilibrium of the universe. Gregory of Nyssa was an exponent, as we see in *De an. et resurr.* 25, where Macrina supports the idea that the divine power manifests Himself in the harmony of the universe and completes the Whole with its parts (τὸ ὅλον συμπληροῖ ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι).<sup>44</sup> And the whole tradition is not by chance in debt to

41 '[These intervals] get their denominations from the ordered quantity of the notes in the middle: the fourth, since it is completed by four notes or strings, the fifth, by five notes, the octave, by eight notes. Nevertheless, the interval that goes through eight notes is called *dia pasōn*, since on the octachord the totality of the intervals is fulfilled, and from there those intervals repeat again, as it is clear from the denomination itself'.

42 See e.g. *Od.* 3.262 and 6.234 for the use of both τελέω and τελείω.

43 See Arist. *De gen. et corr.* 336b31 for the generation process through which God *completes the Universe* (συνεπλήρωσε τὸ ὅλον ὁ θεός, ἐνδελεχῇ ποιήσας τὴν γένεσιν). It returns with insistence also in Alex. Aphr. *In Arist. Metaph. comm.* 715.17ff. while commenting on Arist. *Metaph.* 1075a on the nature of the Universe, in which the generated entities participate to the common end (τὰ συνετεταγμένα πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ὅλου συμπλήρωσιν).

44 See Ramelli 2007, 43 for a list of *loci paralleli* in Gregory's work.

the Platonic cosmogony of the *Timaeus*: συμπληρώ is the verb of the God who fills the Universe with harmonic intervals while building its soul.<sup>45</sup>

We might therefore say that in his work the compiler essentially embodies Byzantine eclecticism. He preserves the ancient pagan content within Christian categories—a behavior chiefly symbolized by Michael Psellus.<sup>46</sup> For this reason, besides the chronological alignment, he must have seemed the perfect candidate as author of the *Synopsis*.

The aspect we have just highlighted may give more details as to why an intellectual such as John Zonaras, while describing the musical education of St. Cyril, chose to copy the *Synopsis*' introduction. It is evident that Bryennius also read it, used it, and probably appreciated it: in his *Harmonica* he deals with all the technical aspects of harmonic theory, but he specifies from the beginning that to fulfill his undertaking he needs the help of the One who has created the world and made each soul harmonious.<sup>47</sup>

The author's attitude towards music reveals in a nutshell a tendency which would characterize successive musical treatises and will be fulfilled in those treatises; this tendency could easily gain the appreciation of the Byzantine intellectual environment.

If it was really a handbook, the scope of which was purely scholastic, we might even assert that its good fortune went beyond its formal limits and original aim.

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- 45 Plat. *Tim.* 36a μετά δὰ ταῦτα συνεπληροῦτο τά τε διπλάσια καὶ τριπλάσια διαστήματα, μοίρας ἔτι ἐκείθεν ἀποτέμνων καὶ τιθεὶς εἰς τὸ μεταξύ τούτων, ὥστε ἐν ἐκάστῳ διαστήματι δύο εἶναι μεσότηας. The cosmological function of the verb is again well represented at the very end of the *Timaeus* (92c5): θνητὰ γὰρ καὶ ἀθάνατα ζῶα λαβὼν καὶ συμπληρωθεὶς ὅδε ὁ κόσμος οὕτω, ζῶον ὁρατὸν τὰ ὁρατὰ περιέχον, εἰκὼν τοῦ νοητοῦ θεὸς αἰσθητός, μέγιστος καὶ ἄριστος κάλλιστός τε καὶ τελεώτατος γέγονεν εἰς οὐρανὸς ὅδε μονογενὴς ὢν.
- 46 Regarding this specific issue see Criscuolo 1981, 7-23.
- 47 Bryenn. *Harm.* 1.50.5-9: ἔδοξεν ἡμῖν καίπερ ὀλιγομαθέσι τυγχάνουσιν ἔνδοξον εἶναι μεθ' ὑπομνηματικῶν ὅπλων, ὥς ἐφικτόν, εἰς ἐπικουρίαν αὐτῆς χωρῆσαι, συλλήπτορα ἐπικαλεσαμένους εἰκότως εἰς τοῦτο τὸν ἅπαν μὲν τότε τὸ ὁρώμενον ἀοράτοις τέχναις ἀρμολογούμενον, πᾶσαν δὲ ψυχὴν ἀρμονίας λόγοις τελεώτατα τεχνησάμενον.

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## Book Reviews



Della Bona, M.E., ed. *Agoni poetico-musicali nella Grecia antica, 2: I Pythia di Delfi*, Testi e commenti 30. Pisa/Roma: Fabrizio Serra Editore, 2017. 305 pp. ISBN 978-88-6227-982-6 (Paperback). ISBN 978-88-6227-984-0 (Hardback).

Massaro, F., ed. *Agoni poetico-musicali nella Grecia antica, 3: Sparta*. Testi e commenti 31. Pisa/Roma: Fabrizio Serra Editore, 2018. 232 pp. ISBN 978-88-6227-992-5 (Paperback). ISBN 978-88-6227-993-2 (Hardback).

These two volumes belong to the 'Certamina musica Graeca' series; the volume edited by Alessandra Manieri about the music and poetry contests held in Boeotia was published in the same series in 2009. The research project is based at the University of Salento and is directed by Pietro Giannini, assisted by Alessandra Manieri.

1. The volume titled *I Pythia di Delfi* sets out to conduct a study of the musical *Pythian Games*, the oldest and most important competition held in Delphi, and therefore the equivalent of what the *Olympia* were for athletic games. It became the model for the numerous poetry and music contests that were subsequently established and organized across the Ancient Greek world. This is the first complete collection of literary, epigraphic and papyrological evidence. It is structured as follows.

*Preface*: the author gives an overview of the available literature relating to the *Pythia*, presents the structure and the themes that will be covered in the volume, and informs readers on the criteria for citing the sources and essays used in the work.

1. *Introduction*: (1) It opens with a map taken from Frazer 1965, which is a useful tool as it provides a historical-geographical contextualization of the *temenos* of Apollo in the Delphi area, from the Heroic Age until the Hellenistic Age. (2) Based on ancient sources, the author traces a historical outline of the Pythian Games, starting from the myth concerning the foundation of the

oracular temple and continuing as far as attestations from the Roman age. In the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, in the place where he was about to build his temple or had just done so, the god encountered the she-dragon to whom Hera had entrusted her monstrous creature Typhon, and slaughtered her. According to other sources, the god fights the Python that was guarding the oracle occupied by Gaia (or Themis) in Delphi, and strikes it with his arrows, causing its death. Later, on the seventh day, Apollo founded the musical agon using the lyre that he had been given by Hermes, to which he had added three strings to the original four. Until the sixth century BC, the agon remained purely kitharodic and was *chrēmatitēs*, and enneateric in frequency. Sources disagree on the subsequent developments. Referring also to the most recent literature, the author suggests that, starting from 591/590, auletic, aulodic, and gymnastic competitions were added (the kitharistic contest would only be included in 558 BC). The author also hypothesizes the shift from an enneateric to a penteteric frequency, which was decided by the Amphictyons, in 586/585; and the transformation of the agon from *chrēmatitēs* to *stephanitēs* in 582/581. That is the date when the editions of Pythian Games began to be recorded, just as they are mentioned in the sources. The discussion always remains focused on how the *Pythia's* fate was interrelated with historical events, until the period of Roman domination. (3) An overview of the concept of *periodos* in contests is provided: from the fifth century onwards, it refers to the group of the main Panhellenic agons (*Olympia*, *Pythia*, *Nemeia*, *Isthmia*). It covered a four-year cycle, during which one *Olympia* and one *Pythia* festival were held, with two editions each of the *Isthmia* and *Nemeia* festivals. A participant who achieved victory in all four contests in the circuit was awarded the title of *periodonikēs*. The author states that there were several musicians with the title of *periodonikai*, which is difficult to comprehend since the Olympic program did not include musical agons. There is, therefore, some debate as to whether it was enough for the poet-musicians to win in three specialities of the traditional agons or if, more plausibly, the *periodos* were expanded in the first century AD to include the newly-established agons: *Aktia*, *Kapitolia*, *Sebasta*, *Eusebeia*, *Aspis*, all celebrated in the second year of the four-year Olympic cycle. These games, combined with the four classic contests, are thought to have been a sort of 'new *periodos*'. (4) The author goes on to tackle the question of how the games were organized, focusing particularly on the role of the Amphictyons; (5) she discusses extensively the question of how the contests and prizes were conducted; (6) she discusses the question of the categories in the competition and the musical program. The most significant sources are compared, including the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*; Strabo; Pausanias, and *De musica* attributed to Plutarch; this enables her to reconstruct the contents and performance

of the kitharodic, aulodic, auletic and kitharistic pieces that were included in the competitions throughout the various historical periods in which the agon survived. A solo performance of the kitharodic *nomos* was the core element of the contest, and the oldest too. The scholiast of the *Hypothesis* to Pindar's *Pythian Odes* describes its structure, which represented the various stages of Apollo's fight against the Python. The author thinks it likely that the ancients would have set it up in choral form: she deduces as much from *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (516-519), in which the god, playing the *kithara*, guides the Cretan merchants towards Pytho; they follow him by tapping the ground with their feet and singing ἢ Παϊῶν (ἢ παϊῶν' ἄειδον); she also mentions the details given in *De musica* (1132a) on how the ancient kitharode Philammon staged the choirs in the temple of Delphi. I would approach this theory with caution for several reasons: the Homeric text refers to a processional song; it seems to imply that the Cretan merchants, in procession behind Apollo, raise the cry ἢ Παϊῶν, in honour of the god, but do not sing a paean that could be considered as the founding moment of the *Pythikos agōn*. On the subject of Philammon: the *De musica* mentions him as one of several pre-Homeric singers, whose performance is compared to that of Stesichorus. It is widely accepted in criticism that Stesichorus composed epic poems in lyrical meters and sang them accompanied by the *kithara*, while a silent choir performed dance figures. It is also safe to assume from this that the choir set up by Philammon in Delphi was also a silent choir that accompanied the singer's solo performance.<sup>1</sup> Finally, the main argument is that the first winner of the kitharodic agon at Delphi is considered by the ancients to have been Chrysothemis (Procl. *Chrest. ap. Phot. Bibl.* 239, 320b Henry; Paus. 10, 7, 2), who is represented as a soloist performing a *nomos* (or 'hymn')<sup>2</sup> to Apollo, accompanied on the *kithara*. Over time, the auletic *nomos Pythikos* and the kitharistic *nomos Pythikos* were added; the former became very famous, as the music of the *aulos* was very effective at conjuring up the bloodiest moments of the struggle between the god and the Python. However, the author also includes accounts of other pieces of music being performed, e.g. the *nomos Polykephalos*. From the fourth century BC, competitions of drama, poetry and rhetoric were added. (7) There follows a paragraph dedicated to the Pythian prosopography. Based upon literary, epigraphic and papyrological accounts, a list of *Pythionikai* (the winners of the music games) is given, along with other non-winning competitors, from the heroic age to the third century AD. The name, provenance and

1 See Gentili 1977; Gostoli 1990, 100f.

2 'Hymn' is an all-encompassing term used to describe melic poetry, although it is divided into genres: see Gentili 1984, 48.

speciality of each artist are specified. In addition to kitharodes, aulodes, auletes and kitharists the list includes trumpeters, poets, encomiographers, *tragōidoi* and *komōidoi*, pantomimes, tragic actors and harpists. Before the first/second century AD most of the competitors came from Greece or Magna Graecia; in the following centuries, artists from Asia Minor also came to Delphi. The author points out that women did take part, but cannot establish whether or not they participated in their own contests, separately from male competitors.

2. *Literary evidence*: there are seventy items of literary evidence, and these include texts of a poetic (the most notable include: Pind. *P.* 12; Theocr. *Id.* 7, 99-102), historical (Duris *FGrHist* 76 F 70; Diod. Sic. 16, 60, 2, Tim. *FGrHist* 566 F 43b), rhetorical (Dem. *Pac.* 22), scholiastic (Dem. Phal. fr. 191 Wehrli *ap. Schol. Od.* 3, 267) and lexicographic (*Suda* ε 3585) nature; as well as antiquarian (Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 674d, Ps.-Plut. *Mus.* 4, 1132e) and periegetic texts (Paus. 2, 22, 8-9, etc.).

For each of them, the author presents the text, the translation, a very detailed comment, supported by adequate bibliographic references. The results of her research into accounts containing elements useful for a general reconstruction of the agon are mentioned in the *Introduction*.

3. *Epigraphic evidence*: there are one hundred and thirty-three items of epigraphic evidence, all supplied with a translation and comment. Many come from the site of Delphi itself. T 71 informs us of the co-existence of the cults of Apollo and Dionysus; T 75 attests that agons based on the Delphi model were organized in Magnesia on the Meander to honour Artemis Leukophryene; there are numerous honorific decrees for winners in the various specialities (esp. T 77; 78; 79). T 72 (which groups together the inscription FD III/1, 400 and literary texts) is an Amphizionic decree in honour of Aristotle and Callisthenes, which states that the two authors shall be celebrated with public praise and the presentation of a crown. They had distinguished themselves by compiling a catalogue that records the winners of the *Pythia* ἀ[πὸ Γυλίδα], “starting from the archonship of Gylis”, and it also records the names of the organizers ἐξ ἀρχῆς “from the beginning”.<sup>3</sup> The name of Gylis, which is a commonly accepted supplement, raises more than one doubt, for the following reasons: a) it forms a line of 16 characters, while the other lines are 15 characters; b) it would bring the beginning of Aristotle and Callisthenes’ catalogue forward to 582 AD, which is the year of the first *stephanitēs* games, disregarding the previous phase. When compiling such catalogues, ancient

3 The expression ἐξ ἀρχῆς refers to the origin of the enneateric agon, founded by Apollo, in Paus. 10, 7, 1-7; in Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 674d-f it refers generally to the ancient period, during which there were just three contests: auletic, kitharistic and kitharodic.

erudites would start from the heroic founders and legendary artists: we know that Aristotle's pupil Heraclides of Pontus (fr. 157 Wehrli) compiled his work about illustrious poets and musicians by starting with the mythical Amphion, son of Zeus, before continuing with the legendary singers Linus, Philammon, Thamyris, and moving on to the historic poets Terpander and Stesichorus: the same Philammon and Thamyris who are mentioned among the first winners of the *Pythia* (Paus. 10, 7, 1-7). Demetrius of Phalerum (fr. 191 Wehrli), another of Aristotle's pupils, claimed that Demodocus of Laconia had won in the enneateric agon, while Creon was an agonotheite. It is unlikely that Aristotle and Callisthenes were unaware of that phase of the *Pythia* and did not want to mention it in their work. I believe that further consideration is needed as to what might be the most likely conjecture.

4. *Papyrological evidence*: there are just three instances. They are documents relating to winners of the *Pythian Games* in different specialities (*periodonikes* poet; trumpeter; *komōidos*).

The volume comes with an apparatus of Epigraphic Abbreviations and an extensive, updated Bibliography. Lastly, it ends with an Index, an Index of Literary Sources, and an Index of Epigraphic and Papyrological Sources.

This is an important work: it fills a gap in studies on the Delphic competitions, which were such an important part of Greek religious, cultural and political life, and attracted the interest of Rome in the Imperial age. It also draws attention to an alternative culture to that which flourished at court or in intellectual circles: a mass culture, orally transmitted to a large number of spectators, the protagonists of which were *kitharōidoi*, *aulōidoi*, *rhapsōidoi*, *tragōidoi*, *komōidoi*, and so on; they would travel from one festival to the next, questing after fame and generous prizes (although some contests were *stephanitai*). The research has been conducted impeccably: it approaches ancient sources with the hermeneutical tools of philological analysis, literary criticism, epigraphy and historical research.

II. The aim of the volume *Sparta* is to gather evidence about music contests in Sparta. Much has been written about this city, but there is no complete collection of sources relating to its music contests. The work is structured as follows.

*Preface*: the Author establishes the boundaries of this work, i.e. the *testimonia* relating to the city of Sparta, excluding those about other places in Laconia. The corpus of the *testimonia* has been divided into four groups: a) contests held during the *Karneia* festival; b) contests held during the *Gymnopaïdiai* festival; c) the *paidikoi agōnes*, held during the feasts in honour of Artemide Orthia; d) evidence relating to festivals in the Imperial age. It does not cover



the *Hyakinthia* because the musical performances given on that occasion did not involve agonistic competitions.

1. *Introduction*: the Author points out that ancient literary sources presented Sparta through the deforming lens of the so-called “*mirage Spartiate*”, to use F. Ollier’s definition; namely, through a form of mythicization that was by turns positive and negative, and was determined by the interest that this city always aroused among other populations. This explains the need to exercise caution in examining the literature that represents external points of view. Nevertheless, for the Archaic age, we can rely upon internal sources, such as the poems of Tyrtaeus and Alcman, and the archaeological and epigraphic finds discovered during the excavations from the late nineteenth century on. Before embarking on a discussion of evidence about the contests, the author puts them into some historical, geographical and cultural context. He also includes a map of Sparta (from Cartledge 2002, 91). He then outlines the key events in the history of Sparta, from the Achaean phase to the arrival of a Doric population, and the political and military institutions that made this city powerful and unique. Starting in the eighth century, the affluence derived from external conquests and internal security generated a refined culture; this can be seen in the high quality of the city’s architecture, sculpture and ceramics, and in the ex-votos crafted from precious materials, found in the temple of Artemis Orthia. According to the Pseudo-Plutarch account, *De musica* (1134b-c), many poet-musicians settled in Sparta in the course of the seventh century: Terpander of Lesbos founded the first music school there, which was closely involved with organizing the kitharodic agon of the *Karneia*; other artists from various parts of the Greek world (Thaletas of Gortyn, Xenodamus of Cythera, Xenocritus of Locri and others) founded the second music school there, which led to the *Gymnopaïdiai* being set up. Yet music, singing, and dance formed a system of communication that was also part of various aspects of everyday life, to such an extent that J. Herington and C. Calame use the expression “song culture” in reference to Sparta.<sup>4</sup> The author highlights the complementarity of *mousikē* and military life: Tyrtaeus’ exhortative elegies were performed during breaks from military combat, and the *embateria* in an anapaestic rhythm accompanied the army on its march towards the enemy. He draws upon numerous different sources to underline also the pacifying function of music in the case of domestic political crises; and above all, he illustrates its presence as part of the educational training of young people, both boys and girls.

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4 Calame 2018. Cf. Herington (1985, 3), who applies this same expression to the entire Greek world of the fifth century BC.

The traditional image of Sparta is also as a city that was hostile to innovation, and sometimes to music itself (e.g. hostile towards the “new music”). More specifically, in Plutarch’s *Apophthegmata Laconica* the author notes the dual nature of the “*mirage Spartiate*”, suggesting that the different representations may reveal a historical context that was still evolving. Their loss against the Thebans at the Battle of Leuctra (317 BC) marked the beginning of a decline for the Spartans, in cultural terms too. More extensive documentation is available regarding the period following the defeat of the Achaean League by the Romans (146 BC): it seems that the agons were aimed at salvaging traditions and preserving the identity that was under threat by the new political situations. In the Imperial age Sparta equipped itself with numerous buildings and facilities that were common in larger cities: stone theatres, gymnasiums, public baths, and so on. Sport and music competitions were the main event in festivals called *Kaisareia*, *Ourania*, *Leonidea*, *Kommodeia*, *Eurykleia*, organized by Sparta’s ruling class to honour the Roman Emperor. Spartan festivals are mentioned as part of the circuit of agons that allowed competitors to take the title of *periodonikēs*.

**2. *Karneia*.** 2.1. *Introduction:* the Author describes the general features of the festival dedicated to Apollo Karneios, who is represented as a ram. This suggests that Apollo was superimposed with a more ancient divinity named Karnos or Karneios. The account by Demetrius of Scepsis (fr. 1 Gäde) is quoted and discussed; according to this account, the festival lasted for a nine-day period spanning the end of summer and the beginning of autumn, and was an imitation or representation of military life. It included a ritual race for youths called *staphylodromoi*, ‘grape-cluster runners’; a small banquet for a representative group of adult citizens, as well as music and possibly sports competitions. The *staphylodromoi* were *agamoι*, ‘celibate’, and were in an age range spanning adolescence and adulthood. It is widely believed, and the author agrees, that the *Karneia* was an initiation festival consecrating the initiates’ entry into the adult world, namely that of citizens and soldiers. According to the account of Hellanicus of Lesbos (*FGrHist* 4 F 85a), which is compared with Iulius Africanus (F 65, 81 Wallraff) and Pseudo-Plutarch, *De musica* 1134b, we learn that Terpander of Lesbos founded the kitharodic agon, and was its first winner (676 BC). The sources do not reveal anything about the repertoire of the kitharodic agon, in other words exactly what type of singing was performed by the kitharodes who competed. The author suggests that Terpander encouraged epic-lyric poetry because the *De musica* (1132c) states that Terpander, who wrote kitharodic *nomoi*, set to music in each *nomos* the epic verses composed by him and by Homer, and that he sang them in the contests. However, given

that this was a festival in honour of Apollo, I would not rule out either that hymns in praise of the god were performed. The author goes on to outline the history of the agon, and mentions the kitharodes who became famous for having competed in it. These include Timotheus of Miletus whose *kithara* was confiscated by the Spartans because he had added four strings to the traditional seven; they hung it in a building called Skias (Paus. 3, 12, 10). The building was in an area of the city that was full of monuments, near a temple dedicated to Apollo Karneios. This must have been the area, and Skias the building, where the music contest was held. An inscription from the first century BC attests that the *Karneia* were still held during the Roman age (see *infra*).

2.2 *Literary evidence*: seven pieces of literary evidence are presented, along with their translation and exhaustive commentary (some of which have been mentioned above): Hellan. *FGrHist* 4 F 85a; Eur. *Alc.* 445 ss.; Philod. *De musica* 4, col. 134, 1 ss. Delattre; Plut. *Inst. Lac.* 238c; Ps. Plut. *Mus.* 1133c; *Schol.* Aristoph. *Av.* 11; *Schol.* Aristoph. *Av.* 1403. The last source in this list shows that Hellanicus, in his work *Karneionikai*, mentioned Arion due to his victory in the Spartan agon. Based on this account, a theory is gaining ground that the aforementioned work was not simply a chronography of events unrelated to Sparta (as was widely believed in the recent past),<sup>5</sup> but that the historian was interested in the *Karneia* agon, in the biography and literary activity of the winners; this is partly because, for a long period, the list of winners were led by the kitharodes of Lesbos, Terpander's *apogonoi* (Franklin 2012). Plutarch's treatise *Inst. Lac.* (238c) tells us that both Terpander and Timotheus, competing at the *Karneia*, are said to have come up against the censorship of the Spartan ephors, for having added extra strings to their lyres in addition to the seven that were permitted.

2.3. *Epigraphic evidence*: dedication from the *Heraion* of Argos (sixth century BC); Catalogue of *sitethentes*, i.e. participants in an annual banquet paid for by the state (first century BC). Both inscriptions mention the *Karneia* agon.

3. *Gymnopaïdiai*. 3.1. *Introduction*: as stated in Pseudo-Plutarch, *De musica* (1134b-c), Sparta's second "music school" coincided with the festive ritual of the *Gymnopaïdiai* and, upon spreading to Arcadia and in the Argolid, it promoted similar festivals there too. They were founded by poet-musicians who came from all over the Greek world: Thaletas of Gortyn, Xenodamus of Cythera, Xenocritus of Locri; Polymnestus of Colophon; Sacadas of Argos; other sources (Sosib. *FGrHist* 595 F 5) also mention among their protagonists Alcman and the local musician Dionysodotus. The *Gymnopaïdiai* were 'dances of naked youths', according to the interpretation of scholiasts and

5 See among others, Ambaglio 1980, 38, 146.

lexicographers. The author only has access to fragmentary and problematic documentation, allowing him to reconstruct only a few aspects of them. They were held in the *agora* in Sparta, before images of Apollo Pithaeus, Artemis and Latona (Paus. 3, 11, 9). However, based on Nilsson, as well as other scholars, the author also refutes the religious status of the festival, instead pointing to competition as its defining aspect. Dance and music played an important role as ways of commemorating events in the history of Sparta. The ancient chronography (Eus. *Chron.* [Hieron.] p. 94 b, 7 Helm) records the *Gymnopaïdiai* as having been founded in the first year of the twenty-eighth Olympiad (so in 668 BC): *Nudipedalia primum acta in Lacedemone*. However, among the authors mentioned as the founders, Xenocritus must have been active in the second half of the seventh century BC, while Sacadas was a winner in the Pythian Games in the first quarter of the sixth century (Ps.-Plut. *Mus.* 8, 1134a; Paus. 10, 7, 4). Not wanting to dispute the date of 668 BC, the author adopts Brelich's hypothesis that two reforms took place: one on the date recorded in the ancient chronography, and the other half a century later. At the time of the first music school, founded by Terpander, the primary focus of interest was the kitharodic art; the second school, however, put the accent on *aulōidia* and choral poetry. Following an in-depth examination of the documentation, which is both fragmentary and problematic, the author traces out a basic framework of the festival: it lasted for at least three days, and was held in high summer; the performances were competitive in nature. Those competing were choirs of youths and adults, who performed dances and songs describing the history of Sparta, particularly in memory of the soldiers who fought in the Thyreatis. These performances by choirs of different ages had the function of reinforcing, among the Spartan community, values and memories that were handed down the generations. Adult and youth choirs were equally important in this sense. That is why the author gives little credence to the idea of Brelich 1969, Calame 1977 and other scholars, who viewed the *Gymnopaïdiai* as a festival in which the new initiates performed before a large audience, shedding their adolescent garb to don a new kind of clothing, underlining how youths were integrated into adult military life. In my view, this interpretation should not be rejected, far from it, because in the *De musica*, the *Gymnopaïdiai* appear alongside the Arcadian *Apodeixeis* and the Argive *Endymatia*, which certainly did include such a ritual. Lastly, the author suggests—correctly I believe—that the festival was comprised of two different moments: that ritual, during which there was celebratory choral singing, and the competitive ritual when the choirs took part in contests, divided by age group.

3.2. *Literary evidence*: in relation to ten themes, each account is accompanied by a translation and comment: Hdt. 6, 67; Xen. *Hell.* 6, 4, 16, Plut. *Ages.*

29, 3-4; Diog. Babyl. fr. 67 Arnim; Sosib. *FGrHist* 595 F5, complura lexica s.v. Γυμνοπαίδία; Plut. *Apophth. Lacon.* 208d; Paus. 3, 11, 9; Ps.-Plut. *Mus.* 9, 1134b-c; Lucian. *Salt.* 10-12; Max. Tyr. 35, 8c-e; Ath. 14, 631b-c.

The themes are those covered in the preliminary *Introduction*, which itself partially summarizes the results of the arguments presented in the comments.

**4. The Paidikoi Agones in Honour of Artemis Orthia.** 4.1. *Introduction:* in the early twentieth century, inscriptions were discovered at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia; they can be linked to contests that were at least partly musical, in which boys competed. Such competitions are generally referred to as *paidikoi agones*. There are sixty-two sources: one of these is a Hesychian gloss: μῶά, a Laconian form of μῦσα (T 1); the others are dedications to the goddess Artemis Orthia engraved on steles, most of which date from first to third cent. AD. Only one is from the fourth century BC (T 2). They are in archaic Laconian dialect; some are in elegiac distich (T 2, 6, 8), while one is in prose for the first part, and elegiac distich in the second part (T 5). By comparing the inscriptions, and a gloss in the margin of a Strabo manuscript, it can be established that the participants were ephebes who were undertaking their education, which they did between the ages of 14 to 19. These contests were individual, not choral; various names of specialities appear: μῶά and κελοῖα seem to refer to music contests. The former, according to the aforementioned definition given by Hesychius (T 1) was a type of song; as for the latter, although the author enters into a lengthy discussion in search of a possible interpretation, I do not think a credible theory can be found. At the end of the *Introduction*, a table is given containing the name of every winner, the century they lived in and the speciality in which they won.

4.2. *Literary evidence:* 1 (Hesych. s.v. μῶά: ᾠδὴ ποιᾶ) with translation and comment.

4.3. *Epigraphic evidence:* 61, with translation and comment. These are dedications to Artemis Orthia, engraved on steles as thanks for the victory (cf. *supra*), accompanied by a sickle as an ex-voto.

**5. Agons in the Roman Age.** 5.1. *Introduction:* in addition to the traditional agons, in the Roman age other sport and music contests were established in Sparta: in the first century AD *Kaisareia*, in honour of Emperor Augustus; in the first half of the second century AD *Ourania*, in honour of Zeus Ouranios; *Leonidea*, during which the heroes of the Battles of Thermopylae and Platea were commemorated; the *Eurykleia*, named after its founder Iulius Eurycles Herculanius, the first Greek to become a Roman Senator; towards the end of the second century AD the *Kommodeia*, in honour of Emperor Commodus, who was associated with Zeus Olympius, so that the full name of the contest was *Olympia Kommodeia*. A table lists the names of the winning artists, the

chronology, the agon and speciality in which they won. They include *tragōidoi*, *aulētai*, trumpeters, heralds, poets, and so on.

5.2. *Epigraphic evidence*: 12, with translation and comment.

This is followed by the Bibliography, which is extensive and up-to-date, and includes separate sections for 'Epigraphic abbreviations' and 'Bibliographic abbreviations'; the volume ends with the Index of Literary Sources, the Index of Epigraphic Sources, and the general Index.

This volume, too, makes a very valuable contribution to efforts to reconstruct the living reality of the music contests organized in Sparta, from the Archaic to the Roman age. It documents the vital importance of music in young people's education, in a society in which written culture was lacking or in any case not widespread. The community expressed its values through song and dance, and confirmed its sense of belonging to a noble tradition while reinforcing social cohesion and the bonds between the generations. Illustrious poet-musicians played a key role in the Archaic age, such as those who founded the two music schools; but sources which describe the *paidikoi agōnes* prove that the *mousikē* continued to fulfil a crucial purpose in young people's education until the Roman age. The Spartan agons in the Roman age, such as the Pythian Games, reveal an alternative culture to the official one; in this alternative culture, artists with various specialities worked, moving between theatres and festivals that were attended by the entire community of citizens. The author has negotiated his way among literary texts, inscriptions and archaeological finds, and has done so with philological rigour and skilled historical and literary analysis.

Both volumes feature impeccable editorial and typographic presentation, as is customary for publications by the publishing house Fabrizio Serra.

One hopes that this series may continue to expand and include all the regions in the Greek world, in order to offer a complete panorama of what appears to have been a submerged world that existed in parallel to that of written literature.

*Antonietta Gostoli*

Università degli studi di Perugia, Perugia, Italy

*antonietta.gostoli@gmail.com*

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Bellia, A., and Bundrick, S.D., eds. *Musical Instruments as Votive Gifts in the Ancient World* (Telestes 4). Pisa/Roma: Fabrizio Serra Editore, 2018. 107 pp.  
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In ancient religions the communication of humans with the gods was carried out in three ways: prayer, sacrifice and dedication. According to ancient sources, each of these was supported by sounds and music, up to the dedication of the sound tools themselves to the gods, whereby the musical instruments in secondary use became gifts to the gods. While for some decades now Greek votive offerings have been repeatedly brought into the light of research, the status quo of current research has been summarized in ThesCRA in general and on music in particular.<sup>1</sup> Building on this, the anthology *Musical Instruments as Votive Gifts*, edited by Angelia Bellia and Sheramy D. Bundrick, contains eight articles which consider the instruments themselves as votive gifts and in a stimulating way present the perspectives of music archaeological research. The contributions themselves were presented at the first colloquium of the Archeomusicology Interest Group (AMIG) at the 119th Annual Meeting of the AIA in Boston in 2018. An important task for the editors is to broaden the view from the votive group of musical instruments handed down through archaeology to the relevance of individual instruments and their performative qualities in cult practice.

In her introduction (19-23) Sheramy Bundrick, after general explanations of the Greek votive system, refers to the special importance of musical instruments. Almost the entire range of instruments from antiquity has been documented as votive offerings in the archaeological record, some with an inscription of the donor. In addition, there are also inscribed and literary dedications. The aforementioned broad understanding of a votive also as the immaterial dedication of a musical performance in connection with poetry, song and dance in cult practice also allows us to include the iconography of cult music (e.g. images on vases and clay figurines). If we consider the instruments as a medium of communication between humans and gods, then both groups, i.e. the donors and the recipients, accordingly testify to the relevance of music in the cult.

Erica Angliker focuses on the “Musical Instruments and the Festival of Apollo”, studying the dedications of the *auloi* in the sanctuary of Delos. Music is performed here while singing hymns and dancing, performances whose texts have been archived in the Sanctuary of Artemis. In addition, since the

1 ThesCRA I (2004) s.v. 2.d. Dedications, 269-318 (R. Parker, J. Boadman et al.); ThesCRA II (2004) s.v. 2.4c Musical Instruments in Cult, 347-365 (Z. Papadoulou).

Geometric Period, musical images have been represented there, ranging from vase painting to coins. In addition to the general assumption that *auloi* were used in cult practice, the author mentions inscribed references to *aulētēs* from the Delic inventory (unfortunately without quotation). Although no votive *aulos* from Delos has survived, inscriptions at least report consecrations since the 2nd century and praise the high reputation of the *auloi*, which were possibly also manufactured in the Hellenistic *aulos* workshops. Using the *auloi* as an example, Angliker explains the personal significance of the donor with his votive, whose gender, social status or occasion of the consecration might be mentioned in the inscription. Despite the broad interest in a general question and the material that has been handed down, I would have expected some discussion of the surprising absence of *auloi* as votives from Delos, as we only have evidence of an *aulos* workshop there.

In her article “Musical Instruments and Their Miniature Models as Votive Offerings to Female Deities in Sanctuaries in Ancient Greece” Angeliki Liveri presents a rich overview of musical votives in the sanctuaries for Athena, Artemis, Demeter and Kore as well as Hera in the Greek motherland. The source material includes real musical instruments, some with inscriptions, literary consecrations and reproductions of instruments in miniaturized form. In addition, Liveri is able to show that the votives are always private and individual and that we only observe a significantly higher proportion of female donors in archaic times.

Jenny Högström Bernston and Erika Lindgren Liljenstolpe open a further perspective on musical votives with “On the Efficacy of *Aulos* Playing in Greek Cult: Highlighting the Kokkinvrysi Votive Groups”. The starting point for their observations is a terracotta motif group of dancing people arranged in a circle around an *aulos*-playing figure, discovered in a small sanctuary in Corinth and handed down in large numbers. This group not only symbolizes the connection between the *aulos* and dance, but also—in contrast to the other votives—represents the persons without a recognizable gender. Before the background of the stimulating function of *aulos* music and the generally known appearance of *aulētrides*, the authors finally come to the conclusion that it must be an *aulētris*. In my opinion, this way of reading should rather be left open from an iconographic point of view: contrary to the other differentiation based on the representation of sexual characteristics, it is precisely these that are missing from the central figure. But apart from that the study is very inspiring, as it operates very close to the archaeological findings.

Eleonora Colangelo discusses the consecration of musical instruments on the occasion of female rites of passage in ancient literature in the clearly structured contribution “This Rhopton I Will Never Touch Again”, or “When Women in Transitions Consecrated Musical Instruments”. She vividly elaborates the characteristic features of consecrated musical instruments as objects with a strong personal bond rather than material value. Especially in the consecrations of women in transition rituals, the musical instruments, equal in rank to jewellery and textiles, represent a part of the personality that is consecrated to the deity.

The appearance of the sistrum as a votive is explained in the following two articles. In “Inside and outside the Tomb: The Isiac Sistrum as Testimony of Worshippers’ Beliefs” Arnaud Sara-Ziegelmeyer explains the fundamental development of the instrument from Hellenistic Alexandria to Roman times in Greece and Italy and vividly illustrates the phenomenon of acculturation in the representation of this instrument. However, since the circumstances of the find are limited to burials, the interpretation of the object as a sign of an adaptation of Isis is debatable. Instead, the sistrum may be interpreted as a status symbol or as a sign of personal connection with Isis in the tomb. In my view, the results of Mirco Mungari’s contribution “Isiac Sistra in Pompeii: Ritual Objects, Status Markers, Sound Tools?” strengthen this argument. Among the 28 known Sistra from Pompeii, he can assign a find context to at least twelve, ten of which are attributed to houses. Consequently, Mungari sees the Sistra as an object of the owner’s personal connection to the Isis cult. Both find contexts, grave and house, underline the symbolic function of the sistrum as a sign of cult affiliation.

Angela Bellia concludes in “Afterword: Musical Instruments as Votive Gifts: Towards an Archeology of Musical Performances” by affirming the symbolic meaning of the musical instruments found in sanctuaries. She profitably summarizes the functions of music in cult already mentioned in the individual contributions and strongly emphasizes the performative quality of the objects as sound tools for the cult and the communication medium between man and deity. In addition, she takes up the cudgels for the contextualization of the musical instruments in cult practice, but also for the circumstances of discovery in the individual shrines. Thus she convincingly interprets the *aulos* found in the building sacrifice pit as a votive with a double function: on the one hand as part of a sacrifice to protect the future use of the building, on the other hand as a reminder of the rituals performed with music (and dance).

All in all, the book offers numerous perspectives that are crucial for future research on musical instruments as archaeological evidence aside from organological questions. The contextualization of musical instruments in cult and sanctuary opens up a new approach to understanding ancient music.

*Florian Leitmeir*

Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg, Würzburg, Germany

*florian.leitmeir@uni-wuerzburg.de*

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Phillips, T., and D'Angour, A., eds. *Music, Text, and Culture in Ancient Greece*.

Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018. xiv, 279 pp. ISBN 978-0-19-879446-2.

This volume collects the results of two scholarly events: a workshop that took place in June 2013 and a conference held in 2014 at Jesus College (Oxford). As the *Introduction* (1-13) by Tom Phillips explains, a central aim of the book is “to make connections between musicological scholarship and the issues that have traditionally concerned students of ancient literature” (2). One of these is the issue of how music and text combined in performance, and to this topic are devoted the first five essays. The last five chapters, on the other hand, focus on how the ancients understood and conceptualized the relationship between music and poetry and how such a reflection related to other areas of intellectual life.

The first section (*Interpretation*) begins with John Franklin's chapter *Epicentric Tonality and the Greek Lyric Tradition* (17-46), where the author briefly sketches the evolution of his researches on the relationship between ancient Greek and Old Mesopotamian music. His main thesis is that the Greeks, at least from the Late Bronze Age, adopted from Mesopotamia diatonic and heptatonic tunings and epicentric tonality, i.e. conceptual and practical emphasis on the tunings' middle string (*mesē*). As a consequence, Franklin proposes that early lyric poetry was characterized by a prominent role of *mesē* and, moreover, by “the custom of melodizing the pitch contour of poetic diction, a fairly consistent practice in the extant musical scores [...] and already detectable, in some kindred form, in the accent patterns of epic” (38). To exemplify this practice, the scholar offers an *exempli gratia* reconstruction of Sapph. 1 Voigt (fig. 1.4). The chapter ends by considering the traces left by the epicentric heptachord in Greek musical theory and late musical documents.

The following contribution by Armand D'Angour (*The Musical Setting of Ancient Greek Texts*, 47-72) examines some poetic texts and tries to identify phonic effects that may have contributed to the expression of some ideas or emotions. The case studies are the beginnings of *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, the first stasimon of Euripides' *Orestes* (whose music is partly preserved by *P. Vind. G 2315* = *DAGM* no. 3), and Seikilos' epitaph (*DAGM* no. 23). The analysis of the texts brings the scholar to the conclusion that there was “a remarkable continuity [...] in the relationship of words to sung texts that depends not solely on conventional rhythmical patterns and pitch accents but on the use of melody for expressive purposes” (72).

Tom Phillips (*Word and the Musician. Pindar's Dactylo-Epitrates*, 73-98) highlights some rhythmical effects possibly sought by Pindar. On a small scale, the scholar points out how the juxtaposition of epitrates and dactylic



elements seems sometimes to have been exploited to convey, respectively, a sense of weightiness or staticity and a notion of light movement. On a larger scale, Phillips underscores the possibility of “intra- and intertriadic relations between individual lines” (97) on both a verbal and a rhythmical level. The case study is the beginning of *Pythian* 1, where metrical responsion seems to enhance the thematic contrast between Apollo and the Muses, on the one side, and Typhos, on the other.

Oliver Thomas (*Music in Euripides’ Medea*, 99-120) reexamines the much debated testimony of Clearchus (*ap. Ath.* 7.276a and 10.453c-454a) on the influence of Callias’ *Γραμματική τραγωδία* over Euripides’ *Medea*, concluding that there is at least one trustworthy piece of information that can be grasped from it: “Euripides’ *Medea* was the first tragedy to use melodic responsion” (109). Accordingly, Thomas analyses the stasima of this tragedy in order to show that melodic structure could have reinforced the odes’ semantics and themes, and that it would have been a relevant element in the characterization of the Chorus.

Stelios Psaroudakēs’ chapter, *Mesomedes’ Hymn to the Sun. The Precipitation of Logos in the Melos* (121-135), is a close analysis of the rhythmical and melodic features of this song. The scholar shows that the melody follows the four thematic divisions of the text and enhances their ideas: for example, in the first section (ll. 1-5) there is a “gentle and steady rise of the melodic lines in response to Helios’ rising chariot”, while in the third (ll. 15-17) there is “a sleepy, ‘yawning’ [...] melody as Selene retreats to her chambers” (130). The overall progression of the melody is also visualized through diagrams on pp. 131-135.

The second section of the volume (*Theory, Reception, Contexts*) begins with Naomi Weiss’ interesting chapter *Hearing the Syrinx in Euripidean Tragedy* (139-162), which, however, seems more pertinent to the first section. Weiss focuses on those melic passages where Euripides mentions the syrinx, observing that the vast majority come from later tragedies, characterized by the poet’s experimentation with the ‘New Musical’ trends. Hence the proposal that the references to the music of the syrinx could have been “enacted through the performance of aulete in the theatre” (141). The scholar rightly recalls the ‘polyphonic’ and mimetic character of the *auloi*, which could have conveyed to the audience the impression of hearing a syrinx. Particularly interesting is *Electra*’s second stasimon (esp. vv. 699-706), where the “description of the *aulos* comes in exact [metrical] responsion with the lines in the strophe describing the syrinx, further encouraging a sense of merging between the two instruments” (147). A less convincing case is *IT* 422-38, where the ‘steering-oars hissing’ (συριζόντων ... πηδάλιων, vv. 431f.) are hardly a reference to the syrinx; on the other side, it is likely that the hissing of the oars “would simultaneously be

produced by the auletic accompaniment" (155), possibly through overblowing or the use of a 'speaker hole', called *syrtinx* (see West 1992, 102f.; Landels 1999, 38-40). The two 'musical' meanings of *σύριγξ* are to be distinguished (see also 141).

Anastasia-Erasmia Peponi (*Lyric Atmospheres: Plato and Mimetic Evanescence*, 163-182) examines three well-known passages from Plato—in order, *Resp.* 411a-b, *Leg.* 669c-670a, *Phaedr.* 235b-e—focusing on the philosopher's anxiety about "the *non-representational* potential of μέλος, its capacity to provide pleasure beyond fixed terms of signification" (177): this is what Peponi calls 'mimetic evanescence'. The expression 'lyric atmosphere' refers to the same notion: it is intended by the author to "capture the diffusion and evaporation of meaning that may take place in the experience of lyric" (180). The best example of this concept is Plato's *Phaedrus*, a dialogue in which not only different metaphors of 'liquidity' are applied to the aesthetic effects of lyric poetry on its audience, but the setting of the dialogue, the Attic countryside, is poetically described as an "aquatic habitat" (181).

Pierre Destrée (*Aristotle on Music for Leisure*, 183-202) reexamines Aristotle's chapters of the *Politics* devoted to musical education, contending that here the philosopher does indeed have in mind the Platonic treatment of the subject and refers to or quotes *verbatim* relevant passages from the *Republic* and the *Laws*, as is generally assumed, but "only to draw from them a completely different conclusion" (184). Since for Aristotle a thing only acquires its full value when it is done and appreciated for its own sake, music practiced exclusively for moral education cannot receive full appreciation, which can pertain only to music for leisure. "So, properly understood, musical education must primarily be directed at making people able to enjoy leisure properly" (188), in a way that allows them to exercise their *phronēsis* or 'theoretical intelligence' (for this translation see p. 201). In this way, free citizens are made able to judge and appreciate the aesthetic qualities of good music in the right way. What sort of music? Destrée convincingly proposes that the melodies implied are the ἡθικὰ μέλη: "since the only music children must learn to play is 'ethical' music, it must also be true that if they learn this in order to become good judges of music when they get older, the music they are supposed to enjoy during their leisure time must be that same sort of music" (198).

James I. Porter (*Sounds you Cannot Hear: Cicero and the Tradition of Sublime Criticism*, 203-232) contends that Cicero in his *Orator* and the euphonist critics known as the *kritikoi*, while following different routes (*Platonism* vs linguistic materialism), "meet in the same place, in a theory of the sublime which presses the limits of language and of aesthetic and rhetorical theory to a radical extreme" (202), and a paradoxical one: the truly sublime sounds are those

that cannot be heard, but only exist in the imagination. This theory is seen by the author as an anticipation of central aspects of Longinus' theory of the sublime (here I follow Porter in simply calling Longinus the author of *Περὶ ὑψηλῶς*).

Finally, Andrew Barker (*Disreputable Music: a Performance, a Defence, and Their Intertextual and Intermedial Resonances* (Plutarch Quaest. conv. 704c4-705b6), 233-255) gives a valuable reading of a curious passage of *Quaestiones convivales*, where the vivid description of an unseemly aulodic performance at a symposium is followed by two speeches, the first arguing in its defence, the second against it. Barker unveils numerous verbal and thematic echoes of Plato's dialogues underlying the depiction of the aulode and his performance, showing that he is presented as a sort of sophist in disguise. The scholar also illustrates how Callistratus' defence of the disreputable performance is subverted by confusions and unacceptable conclusions from the Peripatetic writings he quotes: all in all, his thesis that the pleasures of sight and hearing cannot lure us into ἀκράσια, far from proved, provides Lysias, the second speaker, with a plenty of counterarguments. The chapter closes with an intriguing proposal concerning the 'potential intermediality' (254) of the Plutarchan description of music, i.e. the possibility that readers may be filtering it through memories of their own past musical experiences.

On the whole, the volume offers a good variety of interpretative approaches and fresh insights into poetical, philosophical and rhetorical texts: the arguments are not all equally convincing, but all point to the relevance of music in ancient Greek life and thought. Though largely lost, music is still variously 'embedded' in the 'literary' texts we still read, and often is a crucial key to our proper appreciation of them.

*Marco Ercoles*

University of Bologna, Bologna, Italy

*marco.ercoles@unibo.it*

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